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EDITORIAL

THE AMOUNT OF WRITING AGAINST THE ANABAPTISTS BY THE REFORMERS IN the early decades of the history of Anabaptism (1525-1560) is both astonishing and significant. It is evidence of the wide spread of the movement as well as its power, and it is also proof of the fear which the reformers had of the Anabaptists. But why were they so fearful? Did they have perhaps a distorted picture of Anabaptism? Or did the Anabaptists really constitute the threat to the established order and to Christianity itself which the many polemical pamphlets of the time claimed. Why did Melanchthon, for instance, demand in the harshest terms the execution of Anabaptists? Did he know what he was talking about, or was he merely hysterical? Did he himself actually determine the attitude of the whole Lutheran Reformation toward the Anabaptists, including even that of Luther?

As the first step in a thorough study of the reformers' attitudes toward the Anabaptists, John Oyer presents in this issue an examination of the writings of Melanchthon against them. In the next issue a similar study will be presented of Luther's Anabaptist writings. A major task ahead is the exhaustive analysis of all the early 16th century writings against and about the Anabaptists and an evaluation of them in the light of the best results of modern Anabaptist research.

THE ANNUAL REPORT ON ATTENDANCE IN MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES prepared by Silas Hertzler, now in its twenty-third year, again brings its wealth of detail of enrollment and graduation statistics. Although enrollment has declined slightly this year, the number of schools has increased. The Mennonite educational program in North America is still expanding.

THE ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON MENNONITES IN LATIN AMERICA BY Willard Smith is another major step in the bibliographical coverage of the major fields of Anabaptist-Mennonite history and current affairs which the REVIEW began in January 1950. Mennonites have only comparatively recently (1917 for missions and 1922 for colonization) become interested in Latin America, but are now to be found in considerable numbers in three major countries (Mexico, Brazil and Paraguay), and in smaller numbers or with missionary efforts alone in five others (Uruguay, Argentina, Puerto Rico, Honduras, Colombia). But already a mere listing of the books, periodical articles and pamphlets about them fills many pages. The excellent summaries of sources and detailed listing of what is a fairly exhaustive compilation of everything but minor periodical articles makes the present bibliography of unusual value. We hope that missing items will be reported so that a supplement can be published at an early date if necessary.

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THE WRITINGS OF MELANCHTHON AGAINST THE ANABAPTISTS

JOHN S. OYER

Philip Melanchthon was born in Bretten on February 16, 1497. His father, George Schwartzerd, was an armorer for Palatine princes. His mother was a niece of the humanist, Johann Reuchlin, who early took a liking to the boy; it was he who gave him the Greek name, Melanchthon, meaning black earth. In 1509, when he was twelve years old, Melanchthon attended the University of Heidelberg. Five years later he earned his Master of Arts degree at Tübingen. In 1518, upon the recommendation of his uncle, Reuchlin, he was called by the Elector of Saxony to be professor of Greek at Wittenberg University. His inaugural address deeply impressed Luther, and the two soon became fast friends. It was from Melanchthon that Luther received his inspiration to study Greek.

Melanchthon soon fell under the spell of Luther's personality, and became an ardent supporter of the reforms Luther was attempting to instigate. In 1519 he participated in the Leipzig Disputation against Johann Eck. When Luther was lodged in the Wartburg, in 1521, Melanchthon became the leader of the Wittenberg Reformation. With the arrival of the Zwickau prophets, he wavered, since he partially agreed with their attacks on infant baptism. But in that same year he produced the first systematic reformed theology: *Loci communes rerum theologicarum*. He was pitted against Zwingli in the Marburg Conference of 1529; here he developed a bitter dislike of the Swiss. At the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, he drew up the sev-

enteen articles which became the Augsburg Confession. In contrast to Luther, Melanchthon was inclined to conciliate, so much so that whenever differences with the Papists were discussed, the opponents tried to deal with him rather than with Luther. From the death of Luther in 1546 until his own death on April 19, 1560, he was the leader of the movement; it involved him in many gloomy theological disputations.

Luther, the religious genius, the creative spirit, and Melanchthon, the keen-minded scholar who could clothe Luther's ideas in scholarly form, complemented each other well. Because of his timid, fearful nature, Melanchthon was hard put to answer Luther's critics, however. But contrary to his customary pliant attitude in controversies, Melanchthon was unusually harsh toward the Anabaptists. He did not show them the slightest bit of toleration. It is possible that he became somewhat embittered against them after the trouble with the Zwickau prophets. It is certain that he ascribed all Anabaptist origins to the prophets.[1]

* * *

Melanchthon's first major extant work against the Anabaptists was written in January, 1528, and published in October of that same year.[2] It bears the title *Instruction of Philip Melanchthon Against the Teaching of the Anabaptists, Translated from Latin by Just. Jonas.* Melanchthon has heard or read of the Anabaptists from sources not indicated. He opens his attack against them with this statement: "These Anabaptists leave the knowledge of Jesus Christ, in which is true wisdom, preferring rather to haggle over outward ceremonies and human assertions, silencing true repentance, faith, the cross, love, and other Christian fruits and works."[3] Melanchthon divides his polemic under six subtitles: Concerning the Function of the Sacrament; Concerning Baptism; Concerning the Function of Baptism; Concerning the Baptism of John and

[1] In this paper the term "Anabaptist" will be used as Melanchthon used it: to designate the entire left wing of the Reformation movement.

[2] C. Neff, *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* Band III, page 67. J. G. Walsch, *Luther's Sämmtliche Schriften* (St. Louis, 1890), XX Band, Col. 1724, 1725, maintains the brochure cannot be dated earlier than the last half of the year 1535, since it makes mention of the suppression of the Münster Revolt, which took place in June of that year. C. Hege, *Mennonitische Literatur in Zeitl. Reihenfolge* (Ms., 1942), page 12, gives the 1528 publication date, noting that Walsch printed a copy of the brochure. The copy of the brochure in the Goshen College Library gives the year 1528 on its title page. The text of this copy does not compare in every detail with that printed by Walsch. Apparently there were at least two editions of his brochure, one published in 1528 and the other, undated, published sometime after the suppression of the Münster Revolt in June, 1535.

[3] *Underricht Philip Melanchthon wider die Lere der Widerteuffer* . . . (Wittenberg, 1528), 1.

Christ; Concerning Infant Baptism; and Concerning Community of Goods. His purpose is to point out the error in the Anabaptist teaching and to give accurate instruction to his readers.

1. Concerning the Function of the Sacrament. Melanchthon reports that some write openly that the sacrament was established as a sign to distinguish Christians from the heathen, that the sacrament serves simply as a confession of faith before men. This sign and example, such hold, serve also to attract men to the faith. But the sacrament is more than just a sign, Melanchthon contends. It is rather an indication of God's will toward us. Just as the fleece was not only a sign to Gideon but also an indication of God's grace, so is the sacrament an indication of God's grace and will to us. The sacrament reminds us of what we have received from God. It does not in itself create righteousness, but our faith is aroused, fortified, and strengthened as a result of the sacrament.[4]

2. Concerning Baptism. Baptism, Melanchthon writes, is an outward sign of repentance and forgiveness of sins. Matthew in chapter 3 records John the Baptist establishing it as a sign of repentance. Christ indicates that baptism is a sign of forgiveness of sins when He says: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved" (Mark 16:16). Melanchthon emphasizes that this baptism is valid for the entire lifetime of a person; rebaptism is not necessary. If we rebaptize once, we are indicating that our first baptism was not valid. How can we ever be certain that our second baptism was valid then? To be absolutely sure we would have to be rebaptized daily.[5]

3. Concerning the Function of Baptism. The function of baptism then, Melanchthon says, is to terrify us, to remind us of repentance, and to show us the mighty earnestness and anger of God against sin. It is at the same time an indication of God's grace in forgiving our sins. It is a strength against doubt. Just as Gideon's faith was aroused and strengthened by the fleece, so baptism arouses and strengthens our faith. Baptism is also a comfort against affliction. Each affliction to the Christian becomes experience through which he is strengthened in spirit.[6]

4. Concerning the Baptism of John and Christ. Melanchthon's main emphasis on this point is that there is no difference between the baptism performed by Christ and that performed by John. The difference comes in the persons and the offices they ful-

[4] *Ibid.*, 3, 4.
[5] *Ibid.*, 6, 7.
[6] *Ibid.*, 7.

filled. John was sent to preach. Christ was sent to take away sins and to send forth the Holy Ghost. Melanchthon implies that the Anabaptists taught that there was a difference between John's baptism and that performed by Christ.

5. Concerning Infant Baptism. Melanchthon devotes the major portion of his pamphlet to a discussion of this point. He writes at the outset: "In these times there are some who oppose the baptism of infants and want to rebaptize adults. In spite of the fact that this false teaching has no Scriptural foundation, it is accepted by many." Other errors of these false teachers are: " . . . all goods should be held in common; Christians should not occupy the offices of judges or of magistrates. . . . Christ warned us that in the last days many would be led astray. Therefore we should be the more careful that we accept no teaching without the clear support of Holy Scriptures."[7] He proceeds then to the defense of infant baptism by showing that infants also belong to the kingdom of God. He points to the example of circumcision in the Old Testament. God had commanded circumcision of infants on the eighth day. Circumcision was a sign of God's grace and promise. And just as the circumcised infant partook of God's grace, so the baptized infant partakes of the forgiveness of sins. Further, he looks to Matthew 19:14 where Christ says: "Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me: for of such is the kingdom of heaven." Melanchthon asserts that this is proof of the inclusion of infants in the kingdom of God. Melanchthon deals next with two Anabaptist objections to infant baptism. The first is that infants are not capable of understanding, and hence are also incapable of possessing faith. Melanchthon replies that the promise of God belonged to the circumcised infant; why not, therefore, forgiveness of sins to the baptized infant? He reasons that the Anabaptists must say that either all children belong to the kingdom of God, including heathen children, or else none do. Since neither case is true, it must be admitted that forgiveness of sins, i.e., belonging to the kingdom of God, is granted only to those who have been baptized. The second Anabaptist objection to infant baptism is that Scripture nowhere commands that infants be baptized. Melanchthon admits that there is no explicit Scriptural injunction concerning infant baptism. But he replies that there is one example from the Scriptures on the matter, and that is that the Scriptures nowhere forbid it. The Anabaptists he feels must show that infant baptism is plainly forbidden

[7] *Ibid.*, 12.

by the Scriptures. They must also explain why the example of circumcision of infants does not prove that infants should be baptized. One of his oft-repeated assertions is that forgiveness of sins exists only where the Word and sacrament are present. The church has always believed this. Since the Anabaptists reject infant baptism, they must therefore believe that forgiveness of sins is not necessarily granted only at the occasion of the Word and sacrament. He objects to certain Anabaptist beliefs which seem to deny original sin. He states that one purpose of infant baptism is to blot out the guilt of original sin. The Anabaptists' sole ground for rebaptism is the fact that they believe infant baptism to be useless. But, as has been already shown, they have no reason to discard infant baptism. They think, further, that baptism works only once—a man is to be baptized only when he begins to repent and believe. Melanchthon reasons that if a man says his baptism as an infant was not valid and consequently is rebaptized, he will sooner or later begin to feel that his second baptism was not valid—that his repentance and faith were not real. So he requires a third baptism. Eventually he will feel he needs to be baptized daily. This confusion results from the fact that the Anabaptists do not understand the meaning of baptism. They want to interpret it as a mere sign distinguishing them from the non-Christians. But baptism is rightly interpreted as an indication of God's will toward us. Melanchthon warns that it is dangerous to follow these fanatics who forbid the baptism of infants.[8]

6. Concerning Community of Goods. Melanchthon begins his final section with another short enumeration of the Anabaptists' false teachings. He adds one item to his previous list: they teach that a Christian should not wield a sword against evildoers. Then he attacks their teaching on community of goods, holding it to be nothing short of revolutionary. If Christians were supposed to have goods in common, the apostles would certainly have been commanded to practice community of goods; the Bible shows no record of such a command. Melanchthon seems to have forgotten his earlier criticism of the Anabaptists for using this same principle of Scriptural interpretation in rejecting infant baptism, namely, that what is not expressly commanded by Scripture ought not to be required of Christians. The practice of community of goods has caused periodic revolts which have done much damage.[9] The Anabaptists'

[8] *Ibid.*, 12-21.

[9] Perhaps he is referring in this instance to the teaching of Thomas Münzer. The Hutterian Brethren practice began in mid-1527, only six or seven months before the treatise was written.

main argument in support of the practice seems to have rested on the fact that the early church had goods in common. Melanchthon points out that the early Christians sold their goods and placed the money in a common fund because of persecution—if they had no goods they could not be robbed. He does not seem to realize that it was precisely because of persecution that at least one Anabaptist group, the Hutterian Brethren, practiced community of goods.[10]

Melanchthon ends the brochure on a solemn note: "There has probably never been a more dangerous time. Therefore one should the more earnestly watch and test the spirits, and should accept nothing without careful examination."[11]

Melanchthon's first brochure against the teachings of the Anabaptists did not deal with the problem of punishment. In a letter to Friedrich Myconius[12] dated February, 1530, Melanchthon commends the execution of six Anabaptists by Prince John of Saxony, which execution took place on January 18, 1530. Myconius apparently was opposed to the execution and asked Melanchthon for advice.[13]

Melanchthon begins by noting: "The entire species of Anabaptists owes its origin to Storch and his followers."[14] Storch was one of the Zwickau prophets who came to Wittenberg in December, 1521. He then relates how he himself was "seized with a foolish mildness" when he first learned to know Storch and the rest of the prophets. The Elector Friedrich apparently wanted to kill Storch, but Melanchthon and others restrained him. Now Melanchthon is greatly disturbed by his earlier mildness. It is of the utmost importance that the civil authorities act with severity to keep down those of this spirit.

Melanchthon treats all Anabaptists as one group. "All Anabaptists, even when they are otherwise completely irreproachable, reject some part of the concern of the citizenry."[15] This is extremely dangerous, he concludes. These Anabaptists do not want to stop with only a slight negation of burgher responsibility. One thing leads to another, and soon they have paved the road to insurrection. So even the nonrevolutionary Anabaptists, who still have slander-

[10] *Underricht Philip Melanchthon . . .*, 24-27.

[11] *Ibid.*, 29.

[12] Myconius was the Lutheran pastor and superintendent at Gotha.

[13] P. Schowalter, *Mennonitisches Lexikon*, Band III, 192; P. Wappler, *Die Stellung Kursachsens . . . zur Täuferbewegung* (Münster, 1910), 25-27.

[14] *Brief an Friedrich Myconius*, quoted in Wappler, *Die Stellung Kursachsens . . .*, 13.

[15] *Ibid.*, 14.

ous beliefs, are liable for punishment. The magistracy should execute those who are guilty of open slander. Both Moses and Augustine furnish Melanchthon with examples for such a position.[16]

In October, 1531, the Saxon Prince, John, wrote to the Wittenberg theologians for advice on dealing with some captive Anabaptists. He had executed six in January of the previous year. But there was considerable objection from various quarters to this extreme form of punishment. The persons executed were good Christians, some thought; and it was certain that executing them scared no one, least of all those executed, who went to their deaths rejoicing. Melanchthon replied to Prince John's request with a memorandum which carried Luther's approval. Melanchthon reasoned that since Prince John had several years earlier issued a mandate forbidding the Anabaptists to teach or preach, he was obliged to punish them when they disobeyed that order. John's conscience should not pain him for executing Anabaptists, Melanchthon felt. Then Melanchthon proceeded to classify Anabaptists into three groups, according to degree of fanaticism, and to make recommendations for the treatment of each group. The first group consisted of instigators and those who had recommenced to teach and preach in spite of the mandate. These were to be executed with the sword. The second group was composed of followers, persons led astray, who nevertheless believed any of the following points:

1. No Christian should hold government office.
2. Christians should divide and share their goods with others.
3. No Christian should swear an oath.
4. The church must be reformed, and all godless people destroyed.
5. Charging interest on money loaned is wrong.

Such persons were also to be executed. The third group was composed of those who had erred through misunderstanding, who might be recalled to the true faith. These were to be taught, and if they made public confession of their error, they were to be received back into fellowship with a stern warning against backsliding. If they would not recant, and if they still did not hold to any of the above-outlined errors in belief, they were to be banished from the land, or given some other punishment lighter than the death sentence.[17]

In the next four years Melanchthon did not moderate his opinion of the Anabaptists. Nor did he seek to differentiate between

[16] *Ibid.*, 14.

[17] *Gutachten an den Kurfürsten Johann von Sachsen* reported in Wappler, *Die Stellung Kursachsens . . . zur Täuferbewegung*, 25-27.

those revolutionaries of the Münster Kingdom and the peaceful Anabaptists who were opposed to taking the sword. In 1535 his *Several Propositions Against the Teaching of the Anabaptists Offered by Philip Melanchthon* appeared. It is a direct attack on Bernard Rothmann's *Restitution,* which was published near the end of the year 1534. Rothmann, the city preacher at Münster, had been carried along by the teaching of Jan Matthys until he was advocating the establishment of a kingdom of God on earth. Melanchthon states clearly at the beginning of the brochure what his purpose is in writing it. "The Anabaptists have published a book entitled Restitution, etc. This book is full of slander against God, and false, revolutionary teaching. We are offering the following propositions to counteract this teaching, so that everyone will clearly see and note that the diabolical Anabaptist sect is blind, irrational, and full of horrifying slander, sin, and infamy."[18] There are four main teachings to which Melanchthon first addresses himself:

1. Some of the Anabaptists teach that before the Day of Judgment there will be established a kingdom of Christ on earth, in which the pure, holy, and pious will rule, and all ungodly kings and princes will be annihilated.
2. The Anabaptists teach that subjects should resist the established, civil authorities, and should drive them out of office.
3. The Anabaptists teach that teachers and preachers should take the sword and drive out ungodly magistrates. This is taught in spite of the fact that the apostles were never commanded to take the sword and establish a civil order.
4. The Anabaptists teach that in their kingdom and new church there will be no hypocrites or godless persons. Everyone will, they say, be holy and pure.

Against each of these points Melanchthon musters his arguments:

1. The first he labels "false teaching." There will be no earthly kingdom of God before the Day of Judgment. The kingdom of God is a spiritual kingdom. Christ said, John 18:36: "My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight."
2. The second point is outright revolutionary. Scripture teaches that subjects should be obedient to the magistrates. Further, those that take the sword will perish with the sword. Melanchthon adds that since these Anabaptists

[18] *Etliche propositiones wider die lehr der Widerteuffer, gestelt durch Philip Melanchthon* (1535, no place of publication given), 1.

are unfeigned revolutionaries they are to be punished as murderers and robbers by the magistracy.

3. The third point is described as "terrible blindness." The office of preacher and teacher bears the commission of Christ: "As the Father hath sent me, so send I you."
4. Men cannot see and know the hearts of men. Therefore it is impossible for men to eject all hypocrites and godless persons from the church.

Near the end of his pamphlet Melanchthon notes three additional points of false belief which these Anabaptists teach:

1. The Christian should practice community of goods.
2. It is permissible for Christians to practice polygyny.
3. The flesh of Christ did not come from the body of Mary.

Finally, he attributes the appearance of this terrible evil, Anabaptism, to the ungodly condition of the world; God is punishing the world for its ungodliness. Christians should therefore more earnestly watch and pray for the removal of this evil.[19]

In a later edition of his *Propositions*[20] Melanchthon adds that in regard to Anabaptists in general there is no point in making a distinction between the good ones and the bad ones. One need not say that not all Anabaptists are as bad as the Münsterites. The devil has torn them all from true teaching, and no one devil is more pious than another. Therefore one Anabaptist is just like any other. Not all of them have had ample opportunity to cause the disturbance that the Münsterites have had. Thus Melanchthon clearly makes no distinction between types of Anabaptists.[21]

In December, 1535, Melanchthon came into personal contact with the Anabaptists. He was called to preside at a theological examination of four Anabaptists captured at Jena. The examination lasted several days and covered a number of significant points: the Trinity, forgiveness of sins, community of goods, obedience to civil authority, baptism, swearing of oaths, and marriage.[22] From all appearances the Anabaptists questioned were not of the radical, revolutionary type. On January 19, 1536, Melanchthon sent Prince John of Saxony a report of the examination, with the admonition

[19] *Ibid.*, 1-7.

[20] Walsch reprints the pamphlet in his *Luther's Sämmtliche Schriften*, Col. 1698, with the title: *Wider das gotteslästerliche und schändliche Buch, so zu Münster im Druck neulich ist ausgegangen, etliche Propositiones, gestellt durch Phil. Melanchthon.* He dates the edition 1535.

[21] *Ibid.*, Col. 1699.

[22] Wappler, *Die Täuferbewegung in Thüringen* . . . (Jena, 1913), 141-43, taken from *Corpus Reformatorum*, Vol. II, 999.

that severe punishment was necessary, even with those who did not act like rogues.[23] John commissioned Melanchthon to draw up a mandate against the Anabaptists, which appeared on April 10, 1536. The mandate listed the prevalent beliefs of the Anabaptists as follows:

1. Christians cannot and should not hold government office.
2. Christians should serve in no other capacity except as servants of the Gospel.
3. Christians are forbidden to swear oaths.
4. Christians should practice community of goods; they should not own private property.
5. An Anabaptist should leave his non-Anabaptist spouse.
6. Infant baptism is not right.
7. Infants have no sin; original sin and natural weakness of the flesh is not sin.
8. That alone is sin which a man of his own free will commits.[24]

Melanchthon accompanied the mandate with a pamphlet entitled *Publication of Several Unchristian Points Which the Anabaptists Advance*.[25] John commanded that the pamphlet be read from the chancel of each church in Saxony every third Sunday.

Melanchthon gives two reasons for writing the pamphlet: (1) So that the innocent, simple-minded people might see that the Anabaptists are from the devil and against God. (2) So that everyone might understand that the magistracy is under obligation to check the Anabaptist sect with severe punishment. Then he points to Münster as the example of the ultimate result of all Anabaptist teaching. For at Münster, too, the Anabaptists appeared at first as humble, patient advocates of peace, refusing to bear the sword. Soon, however, they drove out the citizens, robbed them of their goods, made a king for themselves, and planned a vigorous campaign of conquest. It is clear, then, that Anabaptist humility is nothing but pure, diabolical hypocrisy. This example of Anabaptist

[23] *Brief an den Kurfürsten Johann von Sachsen*, quoted by Wappler, *Die Täuferbewegung in Thüringen . . .*, 149.

[24] *Wiedertäufermandat für Kursachsen*, quoted by Wappler, *Die Tauferbewegung in Thüringen . . .*, 152, 153.

[25] The pamphlet is not dated. Hege, *Mennonitische Literatur in Zeitlicher Reihenfolge*, 20, dates it between 1533 and 1535, and notes that a second edition, without Melanchthon's name, was published in Zwickau in 1536. Walsch, *Luther's Sämmtliche Schriften*, Col. 1706, insists that the pamphlet was published after the defeat of the Müster kingdom. Neff, *Mennonitisches Lexikon*, Vol. III, 68, dates the pamphlet 1536. It would seem logical to link the publication of the pamphlet with the mandate, as Neff does.

teaching shows the might and terror of the devil's power: he can so blind men's hearts and minds that they come to regard the grossest sins—revolution, robbery, adultery—as highest holiness.[26] Before examining specific points of false teaching, Melanchthon levels a general condemnation against the teaching of the Anabaptists. They utterly fail to emphasize the main points of Christian teaching. As he wrote earlier, he feels they too readily dogmatize the peripheral, the ceremonial, and fail to properly stress that which is central.[27] God ordains the magistracy, within which structure the Christian should practice his faith, serve his fellow man, and show love. However well they might seem to impersonate the Christian life, the Anabaptists are only being hypocritical.[28]

Melanchthon proceeds to set forth and attack six points of Anabaptist teaching.

1. Christians should not and cannot hold an office which requires the use of the sword. But, counters Melanchthon, there are many righteous, sword-wielding magistrates recounted in the Bible, men such as Abraham, Joseph, David, Daniel, and the centurion in Matthew 8. Further, John the Baptist told the soldiers to be satisfied with their pay, implying that their office as such was without fault (Luke 3). The Anabaptists' basis for this belief is Paul's admonition that Christians are not to avenge themselves. This means, Melanchthon believes, that outside of the office of the magistracy all vengeance is forbidden. But magistrates are to serve vengeance for God on the evil and are to protect the good. Moreover God commands the magistracy to care for widows and orphans; therefore punishment of evildoers by the magistracy is also ordained of God.[29]
2. Christians should profess no other authority than that of servants of the Gospel. Melanchthon refers to Romans 13:5, where Paul says that one must be subject to the higher powers, not only because of God's punishment, but for the sake of conscience.[30]
3. Christians are forbidden to swear oaths; oath-swearing is sin. Melanchthon feels that the very structure of civil order and

[26] *Verlegung etlicher unchristlicher Artickel . . .* (Wittenberg, 1536?), printed in Walsch, *Luther's Sämmtliche Schriften,* Cols. 1706, 1708, 1709.

[27] *Underricht Philip Melanchthon wider die Lere der Widerteuffer . . .*, 1.

[28] *Verlegung etlicher unchristlicher Artickel . . .*, printed in Walsch, *Luther's Sämmtliche Schriften,* Col. 1710, 1711.

[29] *Ibid.,* Col. 1712.

[30] *Ibid.,* 1714.

government rests on the swearing of oaths. Paul himself swore, in II Corinthians 1:23: "Moreover I call God for a record upon my soul. . . . " Hebrews 6:16 makes clear that the oath of a man is the final authority. A possible objection to Melanchthon's position might be based on Christ's communication recorded in Matthew 5:33-37. Melanchthon replies that Christ means to say we are not to swear by any of God's creation, but by God alone. Christ's command that our speech be "yea, yea" applies only to one's daily conversation.[31]

4. Christians are obliged to practice community of goods; no one should possess property. This kind of doctrine has a strong appeal for the idle rabble who do not like to work anyway. The civil system is ordained by God; and property is the most important part of that system. Therefore to own property is not wrong. Another argument is that kings and princes must of necessity have property. The Scriptures call some kings and princes blessed; therefore the possession of property must not be wrong. Proverbs 5:16 ff. teaches that one's spring should flow out, but still he is to remain lord over it. This means that one should control his own property.[32]
5. If one marriage partner is a true believer and the other is not, the marriage is hypocrisy. The true believer should leave his spouse. Paul in I Corinthians 7:10 definitely commands that the Christian should remain with the non-Christian spouse.[33]
6. The Anabaptists hold that infant baptism is wrong. Melanchthon seems shocked by this belief. To hold this would be to damn a sizable portion of the human race. Disorder would follow: two distinct groups of people would live in one place, the baptized and the non-baptized. He then recounts at some length some of the arguments advanced in his 1528 *Underricht*; he adds no new points of significance.[34]

Melanchthon brings the pamphlet to a close with a word of warning on the subtilty of the Anabaptists. "The Anabaptists have several guises, by which they move more people than with their teaching. They use many splendid, strange words, and glorify divine illuminations. But this is all false, as experience has often shown."[35] He goes on to say that these Anabaptists show great humility, fidelity, and patience in trials. They go boldly and obstinately to their deaths. People are moved by such appearances.

[31] *Ibid.*, Col. 1715.
[32] *Ibid.*, Col. 1716, 1717.
[33] *Ibid.*, Col. 1717, 1718.
[34] *Ibid.*, Col. 1718-1724.
[35] *Ibid.*, Col. 1724.

But a Christian must revere God's Word above any outward appearances.[36]

In May, 1536, Duke Philip of Hesse wrote to the Wittenberg theologians for advice in dealing with thirty steadfast Anabaptists who had been captured recently. Melanchthon rendered his judgment in a memorandum printed later that same year, entitled *That Civil Authorities Are Obliged to Oppose the Anabaptists with Bodily Punishment.*[37] The opinion bore the approving signatures of Luther, Bugenhagen, and Cruciger.[38] Philip had asked other Reformers, in addition to those at Wittenberg, for their advice. Of all the answers he received, the one from Melanchthon was the most severe. In effect Melanchthon argued that even the passive rejection of the state with certain of its functions constituted sedition.[39]

Melanchthon begins by making a careful distinction between the two kinds of office, church and state. He makes it clear that the use of physical force to punish heretics is not the responsibility of church authorities, but solely that of civil officers. Thomas Münzer and the leaders of the Münster rebellion were in error in this respect. Then Melanchthon divides the Anabaptists into two groups. The first group is composed of those who take action against civil government, in that they promulgate certain seditious teachings. Melanchthon has recounted these teachings in earlier pamphlets; here he adds no new ones. They are in brief: Christians should not hold offices which require the use of the sword; Christians should have no authority except that of the servants of the Gospel; Christians should not swear; Christians should not possess private property; Christians should leave their non-Anabaptist wives. It is clear that such teachings are seditious when one stops to realize that if everyone obeyed them, murder and robbery could not be curbed. Government is established to punish and contain anarchists and revolutionaries. Consequently, since it is clear from Scripture that these teachings are wrong, and since it is obvious that they mean ultimately the destruction of government, the civil authorities should forcefully oppose such teaching and punish the teachers as they see fit.[40] Melanchthon makes it clear that his own thinking on the means of punishment is the use of the sword—certainly for those

[36] *Ibid.*, Col. 1724, 1725.

[37] Walsch and Neff agree that Melanchthon was the author. Hege, *Mennonitische Literatur in Zeitlicher Reihenfolge, 23,* states that Luther was the author.

[38] Neff, *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* III 68.

[39] Bainton, *Here I Stand* (Nashville, 1950), 377.

[40] *Das Weltliche Oberkeitt den Widertaufferen mit leiblicher straff zu weren schuldig sey . . .* (Wittenberg, 1536), 1-4.

who are stubborn. Some might object to government using force in matters of faith. Government cannot give faith to anyone; therefore it should punish no one because of his faith. Melanchthon replies that the government does not punish individuals because of their faith, but rather because they teach falsely and lead others astray. Some Anabaptists will object and say that they wish to harm no one. People are often fooled by this apparent piety. But the civil authorities should not be duped by it, but look rather to their teaching. Then it will become clear that they are a diabolical sect.

The second group of Anabaptists consists of those who promulgate false, but not necessarily seditious teaching. Such persons might teach against infant baptism, or against the reality of original sin, or simply against the established church. It is understandably more difficult to ferret out such than it is to find those that are seditious. But since civil authorities are to promote the honoring of God, these Anabaptists must likewise be punished. Again Melanchthon advocates the death penalty for the stubborn.[41]

Melanchthon is careful to advocate that judgments be tempered with reason. Each suspect should be examined very carefully, in order to avoid injustice. God's Word and the example of the early church are to be used as criteria. Each suspect should be given a chance to recant; careful instruction must be given. Those that have been simply misled and are willing to recant should be given lighter sentences—reprimand or prison sentence. But the obstinate should be killed.[42]

Melanchthon concludes the pamphlet with a sharp bit of name-calling. He speaks of the Anabaptists: " . . . a Mannichean sect, a new monkery. Their holiness consists of outward turmoil and barbarism, no ownership of property, and no government. One thus perceives that they are far from Christ, that they do not have a correct understanding of Christ."[43]

Melanchthon restricted his pen to other pursuits for the next two decades. Finally, in 1557, at a meeting of Lutheran theologians at Worms, he composed a memorandum entitled *Procedure for Dealing with the Anabaptists.*[44] The memorandum was written for distribution within the Lutheran Church.

Melanchthon opens the memo with a word about the purpose of the church council at Worms. He writes that in such councils it

[41] *Ibid.*, 6-10.
[42] *Ibid.*, 1-2, 11.
[43] *Ibid.*, 12, 13.
[44] Printed by Bossert in *Quellen zur Geschichte der Wiedertäuffer* (Leipzig, 1930), I Band, 161-68, under the title: *Bedenken der wiederteufer halber.*

is not men alone that judge, but rather God who gives understanding through His Word; God will surely gather for Himself an eternal church. It is necessary to test the spirits according to the command of Christ (Matthew 7:16). The devil can adorn himself with false holiness. One must examine the Anabaptist beliefs and from these obvious lies ascertain that the Anabaptist sect is not Christian. It comes rather from the devil.[45]

Melanchthon proceeds to outline the two kinds of Anabaptists and their beliefs. The teachings of both groups are lies, but the one kind are seditious and the other are not. The seditious lies are essentially those teachings of the first group of Anabaptists described in his pamphlet of 1536. The nonseditious lies contain some new material. Seven of them are listed.

1. Christ was not subject to original sin; and ever since His birth original sin has ceased to bind men.
2. Infant baptism is wrong.
3. God is one God, as the Jews teach. The Christian teaching of an eternal Son and Holy Ghost is discarded.
4. God reveals Himself in addition to the Word, the ministerial office, and the sacrament.
5. A sacrament is only an outward sign or symbol to men, and not an application of grace. Thus the Lord's Supper is only an outward sign of the brotherhood.
6. Man is made righteous before God through this holy rebaptism, through suffering, through self-fulfillment of the laws, and through special revelations.
7. Many of the Anabaptists say that the reborn cannot fall again under God's wrath; when such commit even adultery, they say they are led by the Spirit.[46]

The assembled council officially damned these teachings. Each pastor was urged to admonish his parishioners to shun the Anabaptist error. The point is further made that no one has reason to cause divisions in the church.

After describing the errors of these heretics, Melanchthon outlines the procedure to be followed in dealing with the Anabaptists. Pastors are to note any suspicious persons and carefully question them. If suspicion remains, such are to be reported to the ecclesiastical superintendent, who should also question the suspect, particularly on all of the above points. Several weeks should be taken

[45] *Prozess wie es soll gehalten werden mit den Wiedertäuffern* . . . (Worms, 1557), 162. [46] *Ibid.*, 162, 163.

to instruct the prisoner concerning his error. If the prisoner is willing to recant, he should be released to allow him to confess his error to the congregation. Then he should be returned to prison for a period of time in order to determine whether or not his conversion is real.

Leaders of the Anabaptists should be tried in courts open to the public. If they remain in their error, they should be punished by the civil authorities. Those that recant are to be retained in prison for longer instruction. Any misled persons refusing to recant should be kept in prison as irrational persons. Sometimes, Melanchthon adds, after two or three years such persons come to their senses and are willing to receive instruction.

The penalty for failure to recant in all cases is death. Melanchthon uses Leviticus 24:16 to support his verdict: "And he that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, he shall surely be put to death."[47]

Some persons might object to the application of the death penalty in matters of faith. Melanchthon reiterates the argument of his 1536 article in noting that Paul makes it clear in Romans 13 that whoever opposes the government is to be punished. Anabaptist teaching is seditious; therefore the punishment comes because of sedition and not because of faith. This would not seem to apply to those who teach nonseditious lies; however, Melanchthon, it must be remembered, advocated death for those, too.

Melanchthon makes a slight diversion to blast the Hutterian Brethren with their communistic practices. He calls it an obscene business. Children are taken from their parents; thus the children starve or die from other causes. Such community life is diabolical and contrary to nature.[48]

His final comment is that of warning to secular rulers, that they are responsible to see that the true faith is taught in their lands. Some persons apparently are led astray by the Anabaptists because the true faith is not practiced in their own churches. This is probably a warning to rulers in areas under Zwinglian or Catholic dominance.[49]

SUMMARY

Melanchthon was by nature a gentle, soft-spoken individual. Luther said of him, in contrast to himself: "I am rough, boisterous, stormy, and altogether war-like. I must remove the stumps, cut away the thistles and thorns, and clear the wild forests; but Master

[47] *Ibid.*, 164-166. [48] *Ibid.*, 166. [49] *Ibid.*, 167.

Philip comes along, softly and gently, sowing and watering with joy."[50] Needless to say when it came to discussing Anabaptists Master Philip was not soft and gentle. Wappler, in his comparison of Luther and Melanchthon, writes "Melanchthon as he grew older became still more intolerant and inconsiderate, even though in his own deviations from the teachings of Luther he was much more inclined to mollify and placate."[51] It is difficult to imagine a more acrimonious polemic than those directed by Melanchthon against the Anabaptists. There is never a hint of tolerance in his writings. He is always absolutely certain that the whole line of rebaptizers comes solely from the devil.

It is probably necessary to indicate two basic concepts on which Melanchthon and the Anabaptists differed. The first of these major concepts is that of the nature of the church. Time and again Melanchthon accused the Anabaptists of destroying the church, which to him constituted heresy. Clearly he understood the church to be both the occasion and the instrument of God's grace. (Melanchthon, following Luther, repeatedly referred to the church as "where the Word and sacrament is."[52]) The spiritual quality of its membership was not its most important aspect. It was unnecessary and wrong to cause divisions from the true church.[53] But to the Anabaptists the church was primarily a body of believers. Thus for them forgiveness of sins was contingent on the faith of the individual, while for Melanchthon forgiveness of sins was contingent upon the occasion of Word and sacrament.

The second major concept on which there was difference of assumption was the principle of Scriptural interpretation in respect to established practices of the Christian Church. Melanchthon assumed that no practice of the church is to be abolished unless it is expressly forbidden by Scripture. The Anabaptists held that no practice of the church is to be followed unless it is explicitly commanded by Scripture. Thus Melanchthon was willing to allow the continuation of infant baptism on the basis of that practice being one of long standing in the church and not forbidden by Scripture. The Anabaptists were not willing to continue the practice because nowhere in the Scriptures could they find a command to baptize infants.

[50] Quoted by Qualben in *A History of the Christian Church* (New York, 1942), 239n.

[51] Wappler, *Die Stellung Kursachsens . . . zur Täuferbewegung*, 118.

[52] For example, see *Underricht . . .*, 16.

[53] *Prozess . . .*, 164.

Melanchthon attributed the origin of all Anabaptists to the Zwickau prophets, who came to Wittenberg in 1521 preaching special revelations and fomenting riots. In a letter to Myconius written in 1530 he commented: "The entire species of Anabaptists owes its origin to Storch and his followers."[54] Perhaps his bitterness toward the Anabaptists can be traced to his early difficulty with the prophets, a difficulty magnified by the fact that he had to deal with them in the absence of Luther.

Melanchthon attacked the Anabaptists chiefly on the basis of their false doctrine, which led to all kinds of revolutionary actions. The gist of his analysis of their diabolical teachings is as follows:

Seditious lies.

1. Civil and princely offices are sinful and damned. Christians should not occupy them. Those who do cannot be Christians.
2. All Christians are obliged to practice community of goods.
3. Suits in civil courts are sinful.
4. Swearing of oaths is sin.
5. An Anabaptist should leave his non-Anabaptist spouse.

Nonseditious lies.

1. Christ was not subject to original sin; and ever since His birth original sin has ceased to bind men.
2. Infant baptism is wrong.
3. God is one God, as the Jews teach. The Christian teaching of an eternal Son and Holy Ghost is discarded.
4. God reveals Himself in addition to the Word, the ministerial office, and the sacrament.
5. A sacrament is only an outward sign or symbol to men, and not an application of grace. Thus the Lord's Supper is only an outward sign of the brotherhood.
6. Man is made righteous before God through this holy rebaptism, through suffering, through self-fulfillment of the laws, and through special revelations.
7. Many of the Anabaptists say that the reborn cannot fall again under God's wrath; when such commit even adultery, they say they are led by the Spirit.

His first polemics were directed against only part of the above points—chiefly against the denial of infant baptism and the practice of community of goods. Later he noted their teaching against hold-

[54] Quoted in Wappler, *Die Stellung . . .*, 13.

ing office, swearing oaths, and charging interest on money loaned. In 1535 he made reference to the Münsterite advocacy of the use of the sword and the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth. These same Münsterites practiced polygyny and taught that the flesh of Christ did not come from the body of Mary. In 1536 his pamphlets spoke also against the teaching that the Anabaptist should leave his non-Anabaptist spouse. Finally, in 1557, he included the remaining points in the above list. This represented his final recorded analysis of Anabaptist teaching.

Melanchthon lived in a rough age. Consequently his language was sharp and vulgar. His most common piece of name-calling was "the cruel, diabolical sect." He likened the Anabaptists to wolves in sheep's clothing whose teaching is "poisonous dung." These "Manichaens" are "agitated by the devil" and teach "pure revolution, robbery, murder, plus unchastity and adultery." One must continually test the spirits.[55]

Melanchthon believed that the only solution to the Anabaptist problem was to kill them. His only note of restraint was a plea for caution, lest those who were only misled be executed. In regard to the Zwickau prophets, his first contact with those whom he later termed Anabaptists, he complained in 1530 of his feeling of mildness toward them, especially in the light of Elector Friedrich's desire to kill them. By 1536 he was strong in his advocacy of the death penalty. He gave no indication of relenting in his proposals for treatment of the Anabaptists.

Melanchthon made no distinction among types of Anabaptists. To him they were all the same blasphemous group. He viewed Anabaptism as one long line of aberration from true Christianity. The sporadic outbursts of the Münster Kingdom and the Münzer-led Peasants' War were to be expected when false teaching was afoot. To Myconius he wrote in 1530: "All Anabaptists, even when they are otherwise completely irreproachable, reject some part of the concern of the citizenry."[56] This was heresy to Melanchthon. He wrote in 1535 that there was no point in making a distinction between good and bad Anabaptists. Since the devil had torn all of them from the truth, and since no one devil was more pious than another, one Anabaptist was just like another. He viewed the Münster Kingdom as the ultimate result of all Anabaptist teaching, because the Anabaptists at Münster originally preached against the use of the sword and were pious people. Anabaptist humility was

[55] All of the short quotations are taken from *Verlegung etlicher unchristlicher Artickel* . . . .

nothing but hypocrisy. It is significant that Melanchthon was bitter against the entire left wing of the Reformation. His analysis of Anabaptist teaching included doctrines held by the Swiss Brethren, the Hutterian Brethren, the Anti-Trinitarians (perhaps Servetus), and the illuminates (perhaps David Joris). Melanchthon was doing only what others of his time, notably Bullinger, were doing, and what most church historians ever since have done—lumping together all deviants from either the Lutheran or Reformed line.

What were the sources of Melanchthon's information concerning the Anabaptists? In at least one of his writings the source of information is clearly stated. His 1535 work was directed against a specific Anabaptist book, the *Restitution,* written by Bernard Rothmann while under the influence of the fanatical fringe in Münster. In some instances his written utterances were the result of a personal contact with the Anabaptists; for example, his theological examination of four Anabaptists at Jena in December, 1535, was the source for a pamphlet, a mandate, and a letter. Here he had ample opportunity to learn of their doctrines. The subjects discussed and the answers given by the Anabaptists lead one to believe that these were not of the extremely radical type. They were probably pious, God-fearing, simple men, typical of the Swiss Brethren or the followers of Obbe Phillips.[57] Another personal contact was that with the Zwickau prophets, whom Melanchthon later chose to identify with the Anabaptists. With the exception of the letter to the Elector Friedrich V, written in December, 1521, his charges were not directed against the prophets' type of "Anabaptism," however. Where, then, did he get his information for his 1528 pamphlet; at this time there were no Anabaptists in Saxony. Prior to January, 1528, there existed in Reformation circles only three major works against the Anabaptists: Johannes Bader's *Brüderliche Warnung* (1527); Ulrich Zwingli's *In Catabaptistarum Strophas Elenchus* (August ?, 1527), and Urbanus Rhegius' *Wider den newen Tauff-orden* . . . (September, 1527).[58] Both Zwingli and Rhegius leveled charges against the Anabaptists that Melanchthon did not repeat, at least not in his 1528 pamphlet. His discussion of baptism, including Scriptural illustrations, was similar to that of Rhegius. But it is

[56] Wappler, *Die Stellung Kursachsens* . . . , 14.

[57] Wappler, *Die Täuferbewegung in Thüringen* . . . , 141-43, who got his material from *Corpus Reformatorum,* II, 999.

[58] I have used the Preble-Gilmore English translation of the *Elenchus. It is printed* by Jackson, Samuel, *Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli.* Philadelphia, 1901. Rhegius' book was published at Augsburg; for this study I have used the original.

not probable that Melanchthon would have passed by the opportunity to charge this sect, which he considered heretical, with the additional crimes against church and state which Zwingli and Rhegius cited. Zwingli's work in particular would have given him abundant material. Perhaps Melanchthon had access to certain of the few Anabaptist writings which were circulating at the time particularly those of Hans Denk and Balthasar Hubmaier. Or he may have used one or more of the following anti-Anabaptist polemical pamphlets: J. Oekolampad's *Ein Gespräch* (Basel 1525), and *Unterrichtung von der Wiedertauff* (Basel 1527), Martin Butzer's *Getreue Warnung* (Strassburg, 1527), Konrad Schmid's *Ein christliche ermanung und warning* (Zurich 1527), W. Link's *Gründtliche Unterrichtung* (Nürnberg 1527), or even Zwingli's *Von der Taufe, von der Wiedertaufe, und von der Kindertaufe* (Zurich 1525). The solution of the source-problem must await further study.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MELANCHTHON'S WRITINGS AGAINST THE ANABAPTISTS

1. *Adversus anabaptistas iudicium* (Wittenberg, 1528). (a) A German translation appeared the same year (see below #2). (b) A second undated Latin edition, with two appendices, appeared about the same time. (c) A third Latin edition, with one appendix, appeared at Frankfurt in 1562.
2. *Underricht Philip Melanchthon wider die Lere der Widerteuffer auss dem latein verdeutschet durch Just. Jonas.* First edition printed in October, 1528. Second edition printed in or after June, 1535.
3. *Unterricht der Visitatoren an die Pfarrherrn in Kursachsen.* 1528.
4. *Brief an Friedrich Myconius,* February, 1530.
5. *Gutachten an den Kurfürsten Johann von Sachsen.* October, 1531.
6. *Brief an Friedrich Myconius,* October 31, 1531.
7. *Etliche propositiones wider die lehr der Widerteuffer, gestelt durch Philip Melanchthon.* 1535. A second edition of this work, published the same year, bears the title: *Wider das gotteslästerliche und schändliche Buch, so zu Münster im Druck neulich ist ausgegangen, etliche Propositiones, gestellt durch Phil. Melanchthon.*
8. *Bericht an den Kurfürsten Johann von Sachsen,* January 19, 1536.
9. *Wiedertäufermandat für Kursachsen,* April 10, 1536.
10. *Verlegung etlicher unchristlicher Artickel welche die Wiedertäufer vorgeben.* 1536. (?) A second edition was published the same year.
11. *Das Weltliche Oberkeitt den Widertaufferen mit leiblicher straff zu weren schuldig sey, Etlicher bedenken zu Wittemberg.* 1536.
12. *Prozess wie es soll gehalten werden mit den Wiedertäufern.* 1557.
13. *Ob fromme Obrigkeiten unrecht tun, wenn sie an schrecklichen Irrtümern festhaltende Wiedertäufer töten.* 1559.

Items #1a, 1b, 7, 10, and 11a are to be found in the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College.

ATTENDANCE IN MENNONITE SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1950-51

SILAS HERTZLER

For the twenty-third time attendance statistics for Mennonite secondary schools and colleges in the United States and Canada are herewith presented. The number of schools which have been sending reports has gradually increased until this year there are forty institutions included. The two names added over the previous report are the Central Kansas Bible Academy at Hutchinson, Kansas, and the Belleville Mennonite School, Belleville, Pennsylvania. The Central Kansas Bible Academy is a new venture and the report included is a history of attendance for their first year. The Belleville Mennonite School is a combined elementary and high school, which has gradually expanded so that it includes this year three years of high school, with immediate plans for the entire high-school program. The names and addresses of the schools included are as follows:

Mennonite Biblical Seminary, 4614 Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois
Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana
Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia
Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas
Hesston College and Bible School, Hesston, Kansas
Grace Bible Institute, 1515 South Tenth Street, Omaha 8, Nebraska
Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas
Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio
Mennonite Educational Institute, Abbotsford, British Columbia
Lancaster Mennonite School, Route 4, Lancaster, Pennsylvania
Immanuel Academy, Corner West and Curtis, Reedley, California
Bethel College, 1000 North McKinley Avenue, Mishawaka, Indiana
Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 77 Kelvin Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba
Pacific Bible Institute, 2149 Tuolumne Street, Fresno 21, California
Freeman Junior College, Freeman, South Dakota
Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute, 173 Talbot Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba
Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Gretna, Manitoba
Mountain View Bible College, Didsbury, Alberta
Rosthern Junior College, Rosthern, Saskatchewan
Eden Bible and High School, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario
Iowa Mennonite School, Kalona, Iowa
Emmanuel Bible College, Kitchener, Ontario
United Mennonite Educational Institute, Leamington, Ontario
Corn Bible Academy, Corn, Oklahoma
Steinbach Bible Academy, Steinbach, Manitoba
Berean Academy, Elbing, Kansas
Rockway Mennonite School, Route 3, Kitchener, Ontario
Western Mennonite School, Route 1, Box 626, Salem, Oregon

Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 515 Wellington Crescent, Winnipeg, Manitoba
Bethel Deaconess School of Nursing, Newton, Kansas
Meade Bible Academy, Meade, Kansas
Oklahoma Bible Academy, Meno, Oklahoma
Bloomington Mennonite School of Nursing, Bloomington, Illinois
Johnstown Mennonite School, Route 2, Hollsopple, Pennsylvania
La Junta Mennonite School of Nursing, La Junta, Colorado
Central Kansas Bible Academy, Hutchinson, Kansas
Lustre Bible Academy, Lustre, Montana
Alberta Mennonite High School, Coaldale, Alberta
Belleville Mennonite School, Belleville, Pennsylvania
Bethel Springs School, Culp, Arkansas

Table I is a complete tabulation of all students in the various schools. The range of attendance is from 14 to 912. So far, 1948-49 was the year with the largest attendance record. A significant and progressive decrease in totals is shown for the last two years, even after adding three Mennonite schools of nursing and two new secondary schools. The gross record for 1950-51 was 6686.

The next two tables record students by classes. Table II shows the statistics for students of college grade, while Table III includes all high school, Bible and music students below college level. Twenty-two schools enrolled students on the college level. The lowest attendance was 10 and the largest was 877. There was almost a phenomenal increase in the number of students on the graduate level, with 111 enrolled in 8 schools. Most of these students were in the two Mennonite theological seminaries in Chicago and in Goshen. The total attendance on the college level decreased 172 over the previous year. On the secondary level the increase was 12, but this was likely due to the addition of students from two new high schools. However, this number was still 86 under that for the year 1948-49.

Tables IV and V give details for Mennonite and non-Mennonite groups. Mennonite attendance has decreased each year since 1948-49. For 1950-51 the number was 131 less than for the previous year. Non-Mennonite attendance was 29 lower than for 1949-50. Twenty-five Mennonite groups were represented in the student body. Sixty-three non-Mennonite religious bodies had members of their groups attending these schools.

States, provinces, and countries in which students are at home are indicated in Tables VI and VII. Mennonite students are at home in 33 American states and territories, including the District of Columbia. They also lived in 5 Canadian provinces, and in 11 other foreign nations. In addition the reports indicated that one stu-

dent was from South America and another from Europe without stating exact details. Non-Mennonite students had their homes in 23 states and territories, including the District of Columbia. Others lived in 5 provinces of Canada, and in 15 additional countries. Another was reported to be at home in Africa with no indication concerning what section of this continent.

Mennonite college level attendance is pictured by the details given in Table VIII. Table IX tabulates the details for Mennonite high-school students. Secondary school attendance was 91 larger than the college enrollment. During the summer of 1950 eight schools had at least a few summer students. The total of 638 was 55 larger than for the previous year. Summer statistics are given in Table X.

Table XI is incomplete since 13 schools gave no report, or incomplete report, on how many students were men and how many were women. Table XII lists degrees granted and diplomas given in 1950 for the school year 1949-50. The number of graduate degrees is increasing, with B.D., M.R.E., and Th.M. degrees strictly on the professional and graduate level. There were 46 Th.B. degrees granted. This degree is merely a four-year bachelor's degree, with a Bible major, in a number of schools, though it does represent one and two years beyond the B.A. in two schools. There were 461 bachelor's degrees granted, in addition to the Th.B. Diplomas of many types were given in addition. Table XIII gives a quick summary of developments along all lines in the 23 years during which the study has been made.

TABLE I

Total Enrollment in Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges
1950-51

School	Graduate Students	College	Academy	Bible	Other Depts.	Total Enrollment
Mennonite Biblical Seminary	42	5				47
Goshen College	40	821[8]		51[9]		912
Eastern Mennonite College	8	289	181	189	13[1]	680
Bethel College, Kansas		434			53[10]	487
Hesston College and Bible School		163	150		91[2]	404
Grace Bible Institute		301				301
Tabor College	9	286	2			297
Bluffton College		259			37[3]	296
Mennonite Educational Institute		28	237[7]			265
Lancaster Mennonite School			262			262
Immanuel Academy			215			215
Bethel College, Indiana	2	152	55			209
Mennonite Brethren Bible College	3	147			30[11]	180
Pacific Bible Institute	6	149				155
Freeman Junior College		49	101			150
Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute			125			125
Mennonite Collegiate Institute		40	84			124
Mountain View Bible College		48			76[6]	124
Rosthern Junior College		49	72			121
Eden Bible and High School			115			115
Iowa Mennonite School			113			113
Emmanuel Bible College		21	70			91
United Mennonite Educational Institute		10	81			91
Corn Bible Academy			90			90
Steinbach Bible Academy			24		63[5]	87
Berean Academy			77			77
Rockway Mennonite School			77			77
Western Mennonite School			45	30[4]		75
Canadian Mennonite Bible College	1	47		12[12]		60
Bethel Deaconess School of Nursing		57				57
Meade Bible Academy			55			55
Oklahoma Bible Academy			50			50
Bloomington Mennonite School of Nursing		48				48
Johnstown Mennonite School			45			45
La Junta Mennonite School of Nursing		45				45
Central Kansas Bible Academy			41			41
Lustre Bible Academy			38			38
Alberta Mennonite High School			36			36
Belleville Mennonite School			27			27
Bethel Springs School			14			14
Totals	111	3448	2482	282	363	6686

1 Eighth-grade students
2 56 six weeks' Bible term students; 3 Christian workers; 52 correspondence students. 91 exclusive of duplicates
3 Music and art students not of college grade
4 Six weeks' Bible students
5 Evening classes
6 Music students not of college grade
7 57 Grade VIII pupils not included in this total
8 This includes 157 special, 113 summer, 14 spring, and 8 nursing students
9 32 six weeks' Bible students; 19 correspondence students
10 Non-credit Music students. Bethel College Bulletin, June, 1951, p. 121
11 Unclassified
12 Bible students on the high-school level

TABLE II

Enrollment by Classes, College Students, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges, 1950-51

College	Graduate Students	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Special	Summer	Other Depts.	Spring	Total
M.B.S.	42					5				47
Goshen	40	110	119	136[6]	165[7]	157	113[5]	23[1]	14[5]	877
Bethel, Kansas		107	54	52	92	20	92	17[2]		434
Grace		79	60	48	114					301
E.M.C.	8	37	26	51	121[4]		26	28[3]		297
Tabor	9	35	22	71	100	19	39			295
Bluffton		54	38	50	83	16	18			259
Hesston		7	8	26	68	9	37	8[2]		163
Pacific	6	14	32	29	68	6				155
Bethel, Indiana	2	20	22	22	58	24	6			154
M.B.B.C.	3	17	25	41		64[3]				150
Bethel Hospital			21	23	13					57
Freeman				13	33	1		2[2]		49
Rosthern					49					49
Bloomington			13	15	20					48
Canadian Mennonite	1	10	12	23		2				48
Mountain View		12	10	11	15					48
La Junta			14	18	13					45
M.C.I.					40					40
M.E.I.					28					28
Emmanuel		7	6	8						21
U.M.E.I.					10					10
Totals	111	509	482	637	1090	323	331	78	14	3575

[1] 7 extension students; 16 correspondence students
[2] Evening students
[3] Unclassified and part time
[4] 16 are Christian worker students on college level
[5] Exclusive of duplicates with the school year
[6] 8 sophomores in the School of Nursing
[7] 17 freshmen in the pre-nursing course

TABLE III

Enrollment by Classes, Students not of College Grade, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges, 1950-51

School	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Special	Bible	Other Depts.	Total
E.M.C.	67	57	27	13	17[13]	189[8]	13[7]	383
Lancaster	57	64	68	67	6			262
Hesston	56	44	30	20		39[9]	52[2]	241
M.E.I.	40	55	84	58				237[3]
Immanuel	51	53	54	57				215
M.B.C.I.	19	25	37	27			17[10]	125
Eden								115[11]
Iowa	18	17	33	44	1			113
Freeman	21	24	22	33	1			101
Corn	26	21	26	17				90
Steinbach	8	5	11			63[10]		87
M.C.I.	39	28	17					84
U.M.E.I.	13	17	26	25				81
Berean	20	15	18	24				77
Rockway	19	13	21	24				77
Mountain View							76[4]	76
Western	5	9	8	15	3	35[5]		75
Rosthern	42	27	3					72
Emmanuel			7	9		54[10]		70
Meade	9	19	9	18				55
Bethel, Indiana	3	6	11	35				55[14]
Bethel, Kansas							53[12]	53
Oklahoma								50[13]
Johnstown	12	14	10	9				45
Central Kansas		5	15	21				41
Lustre	14	7	6	11				38
Bluffton							37[6]	37
Alberta	24	12						36
Goshen						32[1]	3[2]	35
M.B.B.C.					30[18]			30
Belleville		10	3	14				27
Bethel Springs	2	4	2	4	2			14
Canadian Mennonite						12		12
Tabor					2			2
Totals	565	551	548	545	62	424	251	3111[15] 2946[16]

[1] Six weeks' Bible term
[2] Bible correspondence
[3] 57 Grade VIII pupils not included in total
[4] Music students
[5] 5 fifth-year high-school students; 30 six weeks' Bible term students
[6] Music and art students
[7] Eighth-grade students
[8] 123 winter Bible school students; 10 three weeks' ministers' course; 56 Bible correspondence
[9] 56 six weeks' Bible term; 3 Christian workers. 39 exclusive of duplicates
[10] Evening classes
[11] No report other than total
[12] Non-credit music students
[13] Unclassified
[14] Bible students on the high-school level
[15] Vertical total
[16] Horizontal total

TABLE IV*

Mennonite Students in Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges, 1950-51

	E.M.C.	Goshen	Hesston	Bethel, Kansas	M.E.I.	Lancaster	Tabor	Grace	Immanuel	M.B.B.C.	Bethel, Indiana	Freeman	Bluffton	M.B.C.I.	M.C.I.	Rosthern	Eden	Iowa	Pacific	U.M.E.I.	Corn	Steinbach	Western	Rockway	Bereon	Emmanuel	Canadian	Meade	Bethel Deaconess	Oklahoma	Johnstown	M.B.S.	La Junta	Central Kansas	Alberta	Lustre	Mt. View	Belleville	Bloomington	Bethel Springs	Total
(Old) Mennonite	582	578	296	2	—	257	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	93	—	—	—	—	65	61	—	—	—	—	8	—	45	—	42	2	—	—	—	—	2	8	2043
G.C. Menn.	—	33	22	308	42	—	16	154	4	2	—	117	132	14	80	108	—	—	4	82	—	—	—	—	62	8	57	3	32	—	—	41	—	10	3	7	—	—	8	—	1349
Menn. Brethren	—	2	3	2	221	—	196	12	170	172	—	11	—	110	4	8	—	—	94	7	86	—	—	—	1	—	—	3	3	—	—	1	1	7	33	21	—	—	—	—	1168
Mennonite Unclass.	—	1	52*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	115†	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	19	—	50†	—	—	—	—	—	—	27†	—	—	264
United Miss. (M.B.C.)	—	8	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	152	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	44	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	35	—	—	—	242
Evan. Menn. Breth.	—	7	—	—	—	—	5	43	—	5	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	3	—	—	28	—	—	—	—	3	—	8	1	—	—	—	119
Conser. Amish Menn.	59	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	18	—	—	—	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	88
Krim. Menn. Breth.	—	1	4	2	—	—	25	6	20	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	83
Kleine Gemeinde	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	67	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	69
Amish Menn.	9	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	27
Bergtaler Menn.	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	23	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	27
European Menn.	2	6	1	1	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	18
Immanuel Menn.	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12
Rudnerweider	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11
Ch. of God in Christ	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10
Evangelical Menn.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8
Old Order Amish	6	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8
Sonnenberg	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7
Sommerfelder Menn.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6
Stirling Ave. Menn.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Weavertown Amish	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Old Order Menn.	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Chinese Mennonite	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Doopsgesinde	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
United Menn.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Wisler Menn.	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Totals	667	640	384	316	264	262	250	223	194	179	152	142	141	125	123	116	115	111	100	89	86	81	75	71	66	66	60	53	50	50	45	45	43	37	36	36	36	27	10	9	5575

* 52 correspondence students presumed to be Mennonites.

† Assumed that all students were Mennonites.

TABLE VIII

Mennonite Students of College Grade, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges, 1950-51

School	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Goshen College	301	307	608[1]
Bethel College, Kansas	187	129	316
Eastern Mennonite College	125	150	275[2]
Tabor College	122	127	249[3]
Grace Bible Institute	111	112	223
Mennonite Brethren Bible College	82	97	179
Hesston College and Bible School	72	77	149
Bluffton College	63	58	121
Bethel College, Indiana	60	51	111[4]
Pacific Bible Institute	60	40	100[5]
Bethel Deaconess School of Nursing		50	50
Canadian Mennonite Bible College	34	13	47[6]
Rosthern Junior College	20	27	47
Mennonite Biblical Seminary	29	15	44[6]
La Junta Mennonite School of Nursing		43	43
Freeman Junior College	16	26	42
Mennonite Collegiate Institute			40[7]
Mountain View Bible College			36[7]
Mennonite Educational Institute			28[7]
Emmanuel Bible College	6	8	14
Bloomington Mennonite School of Nursing		10	10
United Mennonite Educational Institute	6	4	10
Total	1294	1344	2742[9]
			2638[10]

[1] 33 graduate students; 575 undergraduates

[2] 8 graduate students; 267 on college level

[3] 7 graduate students; 242 on college level

[4] 2 graduate students; 109 on college level

[5] 1 graduate student; 46 undergraduates

[6] 41 graduate students; 3 on the college level

[7] Details not given

[8] 6 graduate students; 94 undergraduates

[9] Vertical total

[10] Horizontal total

TABLE V

Non-Mennonite Students in Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges
1950-51

	No report	Methodist	Baptist	Evang. Un. Brethren	Presbyterian	Lutheran	Unaffiliated	Ch. of the Brethren	Christ. Miss. Alliance	Interdenominational	Nazarene	Christian	Roman Catholic	Episcopalian	Congregational	Cong. Christian	Brethren in Christ	Pentecostal	Assembly of God	Brethren	Evangelical Free	Apostolic Christian	Church of Christ	Church of God	Reformed	Disciples of Christ	Free Methodist	Pilgrim Holiness	Un. Church of Canada	Missionary Church	United Brethren	Evangelical	Evang. Reformed	Friends (Quaker)	Assoc. Gospel Churches	African Meth. Episc.	Evang. and Reformed	Seventh Day Adventist	Union	Christian Catholic	Dunkard Brethren	Hebrew (Jewish)	Holiness	Wesleyan Methodist		Total
Goshen	—	67	21	22	17	16	10	30	—	4	2	8	9	10	—	8	9	2	3	10	—	6	2	5	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	4[1]	272
Bethel, Kansas	107	17	8	3	6	2	4	—	—	—	1	4	5	6	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2[2]	171
Bluffton	1	43	13	21	11	8	—	3	—	—	2	4	6	1	5	5	—	—	—	1	—	—	6	1	8	3	—	—	—	2	2	1	5	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1[3]	155
Mountain View	76	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	88
Grace	—	6	13	1	8	1	7	—	13	14	1	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	1	—	6	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2[4]	78
Bethel, Indiana	—	6	3	11	1	—	5	1	—	—	12	1	—	1	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	3	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	57
Pacific	—	4	23	1	1	2	4	—	2	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1[5]	55
Tabor	8	5	17	3	2	3	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	3[6]	47
Bloomington	—	12	2	—	4	10	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	38
Emmanuel	—	—	5	4	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2[7]	25
Immanuel	—	2	5	—	—	—	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1[8]	21
Hesston	—	4	1	6	1	—	2	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1[9]	20
E M.C.	—	—	1	2	2	1	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	13
Berean	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2[10]	11
Freeman	—	—	—	—	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1[11]	8
Bethel Deaconess	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	1[12]	7
Rockway	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6
Steinbach	—	—	1	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6
Bethel Springs	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Rosthern	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Central Kansas	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Corn	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Iowa	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
La Junta	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Lustre	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Meade	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
M.B.S.	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
U.M.E.I.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
M.B.B.C.	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
M.C.I.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
M.E.I.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Totals	197	168	130	76	54	54	50	35	23	22	22	20	19	17	15	14	13	12	11	11	10	9	9	9	9	7	7	7	7	6	6	5	5	5	4	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	21	1111

[1] Goshen College had one student each representing the following religious groups: Christian Reformed, Christian Science, European Evangelical, Indian-Syrian Orthodox

[2] Bethel College, Kansas, had one student each in the following groups: Colored Methodist Episcopal, United Presbyterian

[3] Bluffton had one Christian Union student

[4] Grace Bible Institute had one student each in the following groups: Elim Missionary Assembly, Open Bible Standard

[5] Pacific Bible Institute had one United Presbyterian student

[6] Tabor College had one student each in the following groups: Bible Presbyterian, Evangelical Lutheran, Gospel Manning

[7] Emmanuel Bible College had one student each in the following groups: Church of the Open Bible, Gospel Workers

[8] Immanuel Academy had one Village Chapel student

[9] Hesston had one Full Gospel (Four Square) student

[10] Berean Academy had one student each in the following groups: Bible Church, Independent

[11] Freeman had one Hutterite student

[12] Bethel Deaconess Hospital School of Nursing had one "Gospel" Church student

TABLE VI

States, Provinces, and Countries from Which Mennonite Students Come, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges, 1950-51

	E.M.C.	Goshen	Hesston	Bethel, Kansas	M.E.I.	Lancaster	Tabor	Grace	Immanuel	M.B.B.C.	Bethel, Indiana	Freeman	Bluffton	M.B.C.I.	M.C.I.	Rosthern	Eden	Iowa	Pacific	U.M.E.I.	Corn	Steinbach	Western	Rockway	Emmanuel	Berean	Canadian	Meade	Bethel Deaconess	Oklahoma	Johnstown	M.B.S.	La Junta	Lustre	Central Kansas	Alberta	Mt. View	Belleville	Bloomington	Bethel Springs	Total
Pennsylvania	299	101	6	1	....	253	....	13	....	....	....	....	15	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	43	8	5	....	....	....	....	27§	1	....	772
Kansas	2	20	159	189	....	....	124	64	....	2	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	....	6	....	1	....	....	62	....	50	31	....	....	6	4	....	33	....	....	....	....	....	756
Manitoba	....	3	....	3	....	....	7	6	....	111	....	....	1	123	119	3	....	....	....	1	....	81	....	....	....	19	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	478
Ontario	26	14	5	2	....	....	4	....	....	10	1	....	4	....	1	1	115*	....	1	88	....	....	....	71	65	3	3	....	....	....	....	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	413
British Columbia	....	....	....	2	264	....	8	....	....	28	....	....	....	1	....	4	....	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	6	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	318
California	2	1	7	4	....	....	27	4	194	....	....	....	2	....	....	....	....	....	73	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	318
Indiana	20	188	9	1	....	....	....	....	....	66	....	15	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	1	6	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	308
Ohio	43	118	22	....	....	....	....	9	....	21	1	71	....	....	....	....	....	....	3	....	77	....	....	....	....	....	....	3	4	50†	1	....	1	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	294
Oklahoma	1	1	7	13	....	....	31	27	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	108	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	219
Iowa	10	37	20	2	....	....	....	3	....	8	....	7	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	199
Virginia	175	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	2	....	....	1	180
South Dakota	....	1	....	9	....	....	6	14	....	....	5	128	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	3	....	....	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	171
Saskatchewan	....	1	....	4	....	....	5	4	....	12	....	....	....	....	....	97	....	....	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	24	....	....	....	....	1	2	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	156
Oregon	3	11	21	....	....	....	3	10	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	7	....	....	....	70	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	127
Illinois	2	50	23	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	18	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	6	....	....	....	....	....	9	....	111
Alberta	1	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	12	1	....	....	....	1	11	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	8	....	....	....	2	1	....	36‡	23	....	....	....	....	98
Michigan	18	24	7	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	46	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	3	....	5	....	....	4	1	....	3	....	....	....	....	....	96
Nebraska	3	5	23	12	....	....	5	21	....	....	2	4	1	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	92
Minnesota	....	10	4	15	....	....	11	20	....	....	....	5	....	....	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	69
Montana	....	....	13	2	....	....	2	7	....	....	....	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	3	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	36	....	....	1	....	....	....	67
Maryland	32	2	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	37
New York	15	9	....	1	....	3	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	33
North Dakota	....	4	12	....	....	....	6	5	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	31
Washington	....	1	1	3	....	....	2	11	....	....	1	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	....	....	....	....	4	....	....	30
Idaho	....	1	8	6	....	....	....	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	....	....	....	3	....	....	2	26
Colorado	....	12	11	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	25
Missouri	....	3	13	2	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	22
Germany	2	3	1	2	....	....	3	....	....	....	....	1	1	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	15
Texas	....	2	4	....	....	....	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	10
Delaware	2	1	....	....	....	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	8
Arkansas	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	4	6
India	....	....	....	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	6
Florida	3	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	6

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TABLE VII

States, Provinces, and Countries from Which Non-Mennonite Students Come, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges, 1950-51

	Goshen	Bethel, Kansas	Bluffton	Mt. View	Grace	Bethel, Indiana	Pacific	Tabor	Bloomington	Emmanuel	Hesston	Immanuel	E.M.C.	Berean	Freeman	Bethel Deaconess	Rockway	Steinbach	Bethel Springs	Rosthern	Central Kansas	Corn	Iowa	La Junta	Lustre	Meade	M.B.S.	U.M.E.I.	M.C.I.	M.E.I.	M.B.B.C.	Total
Indiana	226	—	—	—	—	36	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	264
No Report	—	117*	—	76	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	199
Ohio	6	1	133	—	3	3	1	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	152
Kansas	2	40	—	—	4	—	—	34	—	—	—	11	—	7	—	5	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	109
California	1	2	—	—	—	—	48	2	—	—	21	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	74
Illinois	5	1	4	—	1	—	—	—	37	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	48
Nebraska	—	—	—	—	45	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	46
Ontario	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	24	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	35
Michigan	2	1	1	—	1	18	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	23
Pennsylvania	9	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15
Alberta	—	—	—	11	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12
Oklahoma	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11
South Dakota	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10
Manitoba	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	9
Minnesota	1	1	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8
Virginia	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8
Arkansas	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7
Iowa	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7
Missouri	1	1	—	—	3	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7
Germany	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6
Puerto Rico	1	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6
Saskatchewan	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6
New York	—	—	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	5
British Columbia	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Colorado	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Oregon	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Korea	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Mississippi	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Africa	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Indonesia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Maryland	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Montana	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Other states and countries	5	3	2	1	3	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	18
Total	272	171	155	88	78	57	55	47	38	25	21	20	13	11	8	7	6	6	5	5	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1111

* Details not given for summer students and for part-time students
* Goshen had one student each from Georgia, India, Japan, Lebanon, Mexico.
* Bethel, Kansas, had one student each from Utah, Costa Rica, Israel.
* Bluffton had one student each from Nigeria and Trinidad.
* Mt. View had one student from Denmark.
* Grace had one student each from Ukraine, Canary Islands, Washington.
* Emmanuel had one student from Poland.
* E. M. C. had one student each from Ukraine and the District of Columbia.
* Corn had one student from Utah.

TABLE IX

Mennonite Students Not of College Grade, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges, 1950-51

School	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Eastern Mennonite College	173	219	392
Lancaster Mennonite School			262[1]
Mennonite Educational Institute			237[1]
Hesston College and Bible School	115	120	235[2]
Immanuel Academy			194[1]
Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute	51	74	125
Eden Bible and High School			115[1]
Iowa Mennonite School			111[1]
Freeman Junior College	58	42	100
Corn Bible Academy	40	46	86
Mennonite Collegiate Institute			83[1]
Steinbach Bible Academy	51	30	81
United Mennonite Educational Institute	35	44	79
Western Mennonite School	38	37	75
Rockway Mennonite School	24	47	71
Rosthern Junior College	37	32	69
Berean Academy	31	35	66
Meade Bible Academy			53[1]
Emmanuel Bible College			52[1]
Oklahoma Bible Academy			50[1]
Johnstown Mennonite School	20	25	45
Bethel College, Indiana	28	13	41
Central Kansas Bible Academy			37[1]
Alberta Mennonite High School			36[1]
Lustre Bible Academy			36[1]
Goshen College	24	8	32
Belleville Mennonite School			27[1]
Bluffton College	4	16	20
Canadian Mennonite Bible College	9	4	13
Bethel Springs School	1	8	9[3]
Tabor College		1	1
Total	739	801	2833[4] 1540[5]

[1] Details not given
[2] An error of 3 corrected by subtracting that number from the list of women students
[3] Details not given for one student
[4] Vertical total
[5] Horizontal total

TABLE X

Students in Summer Session, 1950, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges

School	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Goshen College	86	175	261[1]
Bethel College, Kansas	48	71	119
Tabor College	20	44	64
E.M.C.	19	36	55[2]
Bluffton College	23	26	49
Bethel College, Indiana	20	19	39
Hesston College and Bible School	8	29	37[3]
Mennonite Collegiate Institute	9	5	14
Total	233	405	638

[1] 38 spring term students; 223 summer students, not counting duplicates in these two terms
[2] Spring term. Hesston College Bulletin, May, 1951, pp. 112-13
[3] Eastern Mennonite College Bulletin, Vol. 30, No. 4, pp. 149-50

TABLE XII

Diplomas Given and Degrees Granted, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges, 1951

	M.B.S.	Goshen	Bethel, Kansas	Bluffton	Tabor	E.M.C.	Grace	Bethel, Indiana	M.B.B.C.	Pacific	Canadian	Mt. View	Hesston	Freeman	Emmanuel	Bethel Deaconess	La Junta	Bloomington	Rosthern	Meade	Corn	Berean	Iowa	Lustre	Rockway	Johnstown	Western	Alberta	Bethel Springs	Total
B.D.	4	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
M.R.E.	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Th.M.	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Th.B.	..	9	1	..	..	2	12	..	6	6	7	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	46
B.A.	..	112	60	24	46	7	..	16	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	275
B.S. in Education	..	48	11	1	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	65
B.A. in Bible	..	..	4	8	..	16	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	44
B.S.	..	..	..	14	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18
B.A. in Chr. Education	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
B.S. in Home Ec.	..	..	2	7	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
B.S. in Nursing	..	2	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
B.S. in Business	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
B.S. in Biology	..	..	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
B.S. in Industrial Arts	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
B.R.E.	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
B. of School Music	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Bachelor of Sacred Lit.	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
B.S. in Music	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Bachelor of Music Educ.	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Three-year Dip. in Bible	..	..	..	..	..	..	41	..	..	7	..	5	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	56
Nursing Diploma		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21	14	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	48
Associate in Arts	..	20	8	..	3	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	25	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	67
Junior College Bible	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12

Graduate in Theology	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Two-year Dip. in Bible	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	3	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Junior College	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Assoc. in Arts in Bible	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Two-year Normal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
One-year College	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	48	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	48
One-year Normal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
One-year Secretarial	.	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Cert. of Amer. Studies	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Chr. Workers' Diploma	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Acad. or High School	..	..	..	..	1	54	..	..	..	..	..	..	65	21	..	..	..	..	52	48	24	19	18	14	13	12	8	2	2	353
Bible Acad. (three years)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	22	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	29
Bible Acad. (two years)	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Winter Bible Certificate	..	1	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
Totals	10	204	97	70	58	121	69	16	17	32	10	12	97	51	15	21	14	13	100	48	46	19	18	14	13	12	8	2	2	1209

TABLE XI

Total Attendance, Men and Women, Secondary Schools and Colleges 1950-51

School	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Goshen College	434	478	912
E.M.C.	308	372	680
Hesston College and Bible School	191	213	404
Bethel College, Kansas	231	149	487[2]
Grace Bible Institute	151	150	301
Tabor College	143	154	297
Bluffton College	142	154	296
Mennonite Educational Institute			265[1]
Lancaster Mennonite School			262[1]
Immanuel Bible School and Academy			215[1]
Bethel College, Indiana	120	89	209
Mennonite Brethren Bible College	82	98	180
Pacific Bible Institute	94	61	155
Freeman Junior College	79	71	150
Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute	51	74	125
Mennonite Collegiate Institute			124[1]
Mountain View Bible College			124[1]
Rosthern Junior College	61	60	121
Eden Bible and High School			115[1]
Iowa Mennonite School			113[1]
Emmanuel Bible College	9	12	91[3]
United Mennonite Educational Institute	42	49	91
Corn Bible Academy	43	47	90
Steinbach Bible Academy	54	33	87
Berean Academy	33	44	77
Rockway Mennonite School	27	50	77
Western Mennonite School	38	37	75
Canadian Mennonite Bible College	43	17	60
Bethel Deaconess School of Nursing		57	57
Meade Bible Academy			55[1]
Oklahoma Bible Academy			50[1]
Bloomington Mennonite School of Nursing		48	48
Mennonite Biblical Seminary	30	17	47
Johnstown Mennonite School	20	25	45
La Junta Mennonite School of Nursing		45	45
Central Kansas Bible Academy			41[1]
Lustre Bible Academy	13	25	38
Alberta Mennonite High School			36[1]
Belleville Mennonite School			27[1]
Bethel Springs School	4	10	14
Total	2443	2639	6686[4] 5082[5]

[1] Details not given

[2] 107 students not recorded

[3] Details given for 21 students only

[4] Vertical total

[5] Horizontal total

TABLE XIII

Comparative Enrollment Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges 1928-50

Year	Number of Schools	Mennonite	Non-Mennonite	Graduate Students	College	Academy	Bible	Other Depts.	Total Below College Grade	Total
1928-29		1025	513		847	569		122	691	1538
1929-30		1259	708		1085	609		173	882	1967
1930-31		1515	655		1234	710	110	126	946	2180
1931-32		1337	591		944	522	259	203	984	1928
1932-33		1135	538		906	416	277	74	767	1673
1933-34		1259	476		921	348	402	64	814	1735
1934-35		1742	530		1025	550	502	195	1247	2272
1935-36		2274	574		1151	1050	470	177	1697	2848
1936-37		2640	496		1242	948	800	146	1894	3136
1937-38		2258	680		1431	821	542	144	1507	2938
1938-39		2221	586		1447	690	530	140	1360	2807
1939-40		2164	628		1560	808	308	116	1236	2792
1940-41		2101	608		1581	688	343	97	1128	2709
1941-42	14	2218	600	9	1485	806	334	184	1324	2818
1942-43	15	2536	424	10	1331	1063	383	173	1619	2960
1943-44	15	2408	512	17	1267	1144	220	272	1636	2920
1944-45	15	2615	579	15	1219	1250	353	357	1960	3194
1945-46	20	3265	482	27	1689	1523	215	293	2031	3747
1946-47	22	4333	685	47	2760	1658	215	338	2211	5018
1947-48	27	5291	870	49	3248	2285	274	305	2864	6161
1948-49	36	5814	1057	61	3613	2677	235	285	3197	6871
1949-50	38	5706	1140	69	3678	2455	400	244	3099	6846
1950-51	40	5575	1111	111	3464	2436	424	251	3111	6686

CORRECTION NOTE

The following corrections should be noted to the article, "The Inner and The Outer Word," by Wilhelm Wiswedel, XXVI (July, 1952), 171-191. P. 173, 1.27: read "Karl" not "Darl"; p. 175, 1.27: insert "Griesinger" after "Onnofrius"; p. 176, footnote 37: omit "Nos. 1 and 2"; p. 180, note 57: instead of *"Ibid.,"* read "Pilgram Marpeck's *Verantwortung* . . . ed. by J. Loserth (Wien, 1929)"; p. 181, 1.11: insert after "booklet," *"Handbuechlein wider den";* p. 182, 1.15: read "Kengel" not "Kempel"; p. 182, note 64: add "A transcript is in the Goshen College Library."; p. 182, note 65: instead of "Hagen, *op. cit.*" read: "Wolkan, *Geschicht-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder";* p. 188, 1.2: insert "not" before "meant"; p. 190, note 81: instead of *"Ibid.,"* read "Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte";* and p. 191, the last two lines have been reversed in part of the edition and should read:

Sein Geist spricht meinem Geiste
Manch suesses Trostwort zu.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND RESEARCH NOTES

MENNONITES IN LATIN AMERICA: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Latin America, since World War I, has become a new home of the Mennonites. At the close of that war there were very few, if any, Mennonites in the lands south of the United States. Today some 34,000 Mennonites live in Mexico, Puerto Rico, Honduras, Colombia, Paraguay, Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina. This figure includes in Mexico, Paraguay, Brazil, and Uruguay the unbaptized members in Mennonite families. Very likely a few scattered ones are to be found also in other Latin-American countries. Though some of these, particularly in Argentina, Puerto Rico, Colombia, and Honduras, are native Latin Americans, a very large majority are Russian Mennonite immigrants from Canada or Europe, or the children of such. It is this group with which this bibliographical article will be more largely concerned, although the others will not be ignored.

The migration of the Mennonites to Latin America has been a matter of considerable interest not only to Mennonites but also to scholars and others outside the Mennonite fold. Particularly from those outside Mennonite circles many inquiries have come as to where information can be secured about these modern religious pioneers. As evidence of the interest of scholars it might be pointed out that a good many books on Latin America—textbooks as well as others—say something about the Mennonites, particularly in Paraguay. But this information is very sketchy and fragmentary, and often misleading.

There has been a longfelt need for an article, therefore, which would give in concise form the relevant information on available materials about the Mennonites in Latin America. It is hoped this article, though not intended to be exhaustive, will be useful in meeting a good part of that need. Most of the emphasis will be on published materials, but some attention will be given to unpublished sources also. Though the writings on the Mennonites in a number of Latin-American countries will be included, it will be seen that more materials are available on Paraguay than on any other country. Nearly all of the published items mentioned, and many of the unpublished, are in the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College.

As this is a first attempt in this area, no doubt some items will be overlooked. If readers who know of such will bring them to the attention of the writer he will greatly appreciate it. If the number and quality of such items warrant it, they will be listed in a later issue of this magazine.

Governmental archival and documentary material on the subject under consideration will not be dealt with in this article. Some is known to exist, but the writer doubts that the number of such items is large.

It will be noticed that a large number of the items in this bibliography are in the German language. For the benefit of readers not informed on this point it might be pointed out that the Mennonites in Russia continued to use as their mother tongue the German language which they had brought with them from the German states. They continued to use this language for many years in the new world, and many of them

still use it, especially the more conservative and more recent immigrants to Canada, and the immigrants to Latin America.

I. UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS

1. Sources

The chief center of source materials on the Mennonites in Latin America is Akron, Pennsylvania, where the headquarters of the Mennonite Central Committee are located. This is because of the fact that the MCC (as the Mennonite Central Committee is called) is the relief committee of the Mennonites of North America and as such has in various ways helped, and kept in close touch with, the Mennonites in Latin America. The annual reports and minutes of the MCC meetings, together with the minutes of the more frequent MCC executive committee meetings, include of course a great deal of material on the Mennonites in Latin America, particularly those in Paraguay and Uruguay for whom the MCC has had a special concern, but also on those in other countries.

Another very important source is the reports of the various MCC commissioners sent to these countries periodically to investigate conditions and needs among the Mennonites. All told there must be several dozen of these, most of them unpublished but extremely valuable for the research worker. Invaluable also are the reports of the MCC directors stationed in several of the Latin-American countries. These directors usually remain two or more years at their posts and because of the nature of their work are able to forward to Akron excellent reports. The same can be said of the occasional reports of other MCC workers who may have special assignments on which they may report directly to Akron.

Source materials in abundance are to be found also in the form of correspondence carried on between the Akron headquarters and the several Latin-American fields. Most of the correspondence from the field is by the directors and other MCC workers, but an important part is from Mennonites living in these areas.

Though the largest collection of source materials, by far, is to be found at Akron, important collections are also located in such centers as the Mennonite Historical Library and the Archives of the Mennonite Church at Goshen College, and in the Bethel College Historical Library. In the former are many of the MCC records of the earlier years and some duplicates of the records of later years. Included are the very valuable and voluminous records of Corporación Paraguaya, the agency which settled the first groups of Mennonites in Paraguay. Included in the collection at Bethel College are such records as diaries and letters of refugees giving accounts of their escape from Russia; recorded interviews of the life history of many refugees, statistical data pertaining to the colonies in Paraguay, their population, vital statistics, and agricultural census data; and statistics pertaining to schools, churches, and church membership. Much of this material appears in digested form in a book now in press, *Pilgrims in Paraguay* by J. W. Fretz. (See description under Books and Pamphlets—Paraguay).

Important too are the archives of the various Mennonite bodies (other than MCC) which carry on relief and mission work in Latin America, particularly those of the (old) Mennonite, the General Conference Mennonite, and the Mennonite Brethren churches.

2. Manuscripts

Attention should be called to several valuable unpublished manuscripts.

Bender, John E., Paraguay Calling.

Part I, entitled "Portrait of a Nation," gives the historical, social, and economic background of Paraguay. Part II is entitled "The Mennonite Colonies in Paraguay." This fairly detailed work represents careful and thorough research on the part of the author, and Part II constitutes an important contribution. Originally the intention was to publish this work, but, unfortunately, Part II was not completed. The founding of the Canadian Mennonite colony in the Chaco, Menno, is covered quite adequately. Very little was done on the coming of the Russian Mennonites to Fernheim. Scholars desiring to check the sources will miss the documentation. A few mimeographed copies of this work, with Part I condensed, have been made available.

Driver, John, A Brief History of the Puerto Rican Mennonite Church 1943-1951. Pp. 23+.

A brief history of the Mennonite work in Puerto Rico emphasizing the religious phases rather than relief activity. Before attending Goshen College, where this was written, the author spent some time in CPS work in Puerto Rico.

Driver, John, The Witness of the Mennonite Church in Puerto Rico, 1951. Pp. 55+.

A more detailed study than the above of the total witness of the Mennonite Church in Puerto Rico, including objectives and an evaluation of the effectiveness of the witness in the light of the objectives.

Dueck, Abram, The Mennonites of Brazil, 1951. Pp. 46.

A senior history seminar paper written at Goshen College by a mature Mennonite student from Brazil.

Fadenrecht, George H., Mennonite Migration to Paraguay. Pp. 211.

This is a master's thesis submitted to the history department of the University of Kansas in 1947. Not exhaustive, it deals adequately with the migrations up to the time of writing. It contains some valuable statistical material from the Reimer charts in the Bethel College Library.

Harder, David, Von Kanada Nach Mexiko.

A valuable 15-page (single-spaced) document written by one of the Canadian Mennonites who settled in Mexico in the 1920's. Tells about reasons for moving, their efforts to find a satisfactory place to which to move, and something of the problems they faced in Mexico.

Janzen, A. E., Survey of Five of the Mission Fields of the Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church of North America Located in India, Africa, Brazil, Paraguay, and Colombia, Hillsboro, Kansas, 1950. Mimeographed and bound. The sections dealing with Brazil, Paraguay, and Colombia are valuable first-hand accounts of the Mennonite Brethren mission activities in these countries. The author visited these countries between December 1948 and June 1949.

Klassen, George S., Our Southland Sojourn.

Dr. Klassen, a dentist from Hillsboro, Kansas, and his wife, spent the year 1944 in Paraguay doing dental work among the Mennonites. In this manuscript Dr. Klassen gives valuable information

on medical, as well as social and economic, conditions in the Mennonite colonies.

Kliewer, Friedrich, Die Deutsche Volksgruppe in Paraguay, Eine Siedlungsgeschichtliche, Volkskundliche und Volkspolitische Untersuchung.

Because of the author this study is highly interesting. Mr. Kliewer, one of the Mennonites from the Fernheim colony in the Paraguayan Chaco, studied in Germany 1936 to 1939 and became an advocate of National Socialism. He then returned to Fernheim and continued his work as a teacher until 1944. Never published so far as the present writer is aware, this work deals with the German groups in Paraguay and their political orientation in the international struggle down to about 1940. There is included some interesting material on the German Bund activities among the Mennonites.

Lauver, Paul, The Assimilation of Converts of Spanish Catholic Background into the Mennonite Church, 1945.

A seminar report at Goshen College. This work was based on questionnaires filled out by Mennonites working among Latin Americans both in the United States and in Latin America. The report was not based on a sufficiently large amount of data to be very authoritative, but it is clear that the subject has interesting possibilities.

Miller, Robert W., Corporation Paraguay, 1952. Pp. 15.

A seminar paper presenting the history of Corporación Paraguaya, which was the holding corporation for the Chaco land bought for the Manitoba Mennonite colonists, later in 1937 purchased by the Mennonite Central Committee.

Schlichting, Emma, Mennonite Migrations 1945-1949, Akron, Pa. Pp. 69.

This interesting story of Mennonite migrants after World War II deals with the trek of the Mennonites from eastern to western Europe and the further voyage of the more fortunate ones to the Americas. A brief account of the migrations to Paraguay and Uruguay during this period is included.

Shank, Josephus W., Central Argentine as a Background for Christian Evangelism. Pp. 122.

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the B.D. degree at Bethany Biblical Seminary in Chicago in 1933.

II. PUBLISHED MATERIALS

1. Conference Reports

Attention should be called to some worth-while material appearing in church conference reports as published by the various Mennonite bodies, particularly the reports of the General Conference Mennonite Church, of the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities (Elkhart), and of the Mennonite Brethren Church of North America. All of these bodies have mission, as well as relief, interests in Latin America, the (old) Mennonites since 1917 and the others more recently. The annual reports of the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities include rather extensive material on Argentina, and, more recently, on Puerto Rico. The General Conference Mennonites have mission interests in Paraguay and Colombia, and the Mennonite Brethren in Paraguay, Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico. The mission boards of these last two groups give their reports to the meetings of their general conferences and are included

in the reports of those conferences. The mission board of the (old) Mennonites has a separate annual meeting and issues its own reports.

Convenciones de las Iglesias de la Menonitas Republica Argentina, Imprenta Evangelica Menonita, Trenque Lauquen, Argentina.

These are brief reports in Spanish of the annual conferences of the Mennonite Church in Argentina, beginning with 1923.

Neff, Christian (editor), *Bericht über die Mennonitische Welt-Hilfs-Konferenz von 31 August bis 3 September 1930 in Danzig,* Heinrich Schneider, Karlsruhe, Germany (1930). Pp. 192.

Occasionally since World War I the Mennonites have held world conferences such as the one held at Danzig in 1930. Since there have been important migrations of Mennonites since that war, it is but natural that this subject should be one for consideration at such conferences. In the above report, edited by the able German Mennonite scholar, Christian Neff, there are several interesting articles on the Mennonite migrations to Paraguay and Brazil by leaders in relief work—Professor H. S. Bender of Goshen, and S. H. N. Gorter of Holland. Most of this report was reissued by the MCC in an English edition in 1946 under the title *Mennonite World Relief Conference at Danzig 1930.* It contains Gorter's article on Mennonite emigration to Brazil.

———— (editor), *Der Allgemeine Kongress der Mennoniten gehalten in Amsterdam, Elspeet, Witmarsum (Holland) 29 Juni bis 3 Juli 1936,* Heinrich Schneider, Karlsruhe, Germany (1936). Pp. 183.

A report of another Mennonite world conference, held in Holland in 1936, and also edited by Neff. Benjamin H. Unruh, veteran Mennonite refugee leader in Russia and Germany, gave a brief address on Brazil, and Fritz Kliewer of Fernheim, Paraguay, gave a more important one on Paraguay. There are also included important messages to the conference from Paraguay and Brazil.

Proceedings of the Fourth Mennonite World Conference, Goshen, Indiana, and North Newton, Kansas, August 3-10, 1948, Mennonite Central Committee, Akron, Pennsylvania, 1950. Pp. 341+.

Besides articles on relief and Mennonite refugees, this report contains addresses on the Mennonites in Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay.

2. Newspapers and Periodicals

There is a great deal of material on the Mennonites in Latin America in a number of the Mennonite periodicals and in some newspapers published in Mennonite communities. Here is another example of the importance of the religious press in the study of the life of a people. No attempt has been made to list the general newspaper articles that have appeared from time to time on the Mennonites in the southlands. That would be a task beyond the scope of this article. Fragmentary, and not always reliable, information will be found in many other periodicals not listed here, including such well-known journals as the *Literary Digest, Time, Newsweek, Christian Century, Scholastic, Missionary Review,* and others, which can easily be checked by referring to the *Readers Guide* or the *International Index.* An attempt has been made to include here only the more important items, although some of the following will naturally be less important than others. In the following periodicals not published in Latin America will be found news items, signed articles, and corre-

spondence from the southern countries. Since they will have material from more than one Latin-American country they will be listed alphabetically under "general." Those that are published within a Latin-American country, and thus deal wholly or primarily with the Mennonites there, will be listed under that country. With three exceptions, no attempt will be made to make a listing of the various news items, articles, and letters appearing in these periodicals. That too would be a task beyond the limits of this paper. The three exceptions are *Mennonite Life*, *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, and *Der Mennonit*.

General

Americas, Washington, D.C., 1949-

Published monthly by the Pan American Union, General Secretariat of the Organization of American States.

Bulletin of the Pan American Union, Washington, D.C., 1893-1948.

Published monthly by the Pan American Union. This magazine and its successor, *Americas*, has an occasional article on the Mennonites (and Hutterites who are not Mennonites but somewhat related). Unfortunately, the frequently cited article of John W. White in the *Bulletin* of May, 1927, on "The Great Mennonite Migration to Paraguay" is inaccurate and misleading.

Der Bote, Rosthern, Saskatchewan, 1924-

A German weekly published by the General Conference Mennonites. It contains some valuable news items, articles, and correspondence on the Latin-American Mennonites. Since its language is German, this periodical circulates to some extent in Latin America. Some of the articles and letters were written by leaders in refugee and other types of church work.

Botschafter der Wahrheit, Steinbach, Manitoba, 1897-

A biweekly German publication published by the Church of God in Christ, Mennonite. Includes items from Mexico where some of this group live and have mission work. Published earlier at other places.

Christian Leader, Hillsboro, Kansas, 1937-

Published monthly and later bimonthly by the Mennonite Brethren Publishing House. Contains a few articles on the subject.

Christian Monitor, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1909-

Published monthly by the Mennonite Publishing House. Contains some good articles on the various countries.

Christliche Bundesbote, Berne, Indiana, 1882-1947.

Published at first semimonthly and then weekly by the General Conference Mennonites. Contains only a few items on the subject, in additions to news notes supplied the various Mennonite periodicals by MCC.

Gospel Herald, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1908-

Published weekly by the Mennonite Publishing House. Besides many news notes, it contains many good articles and reports concerning the Mennonite work in Argentina and Puerto Rico, and worth-while articles from other countries where Mennonites are interested.

El Heraldo Evangelico, Scottdale, Pennsylvania.

Started in Chicago in 1941 as *Heraldo Mexicano*, this magazine later changed its name to the above title and is now published at

Scottdale, though edited by a board composed of people from Puerto Rico, Argentina, and the United States. Published for Spanish-speaking Christians, particularly for those living where the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities carries on its work, it is a small monthly magazine composed largely of articles of a religious and inspirational nature.

Inter-American, New York, 1942-46.

An excellent weekly on Latin America. Unfortunately it was discontinued in 1946 when it merged with the new *United Nations World.* So far as this writer is aware, it has only one article directly on the Mennonites: Morrill Cody, "Refuge in the Chaco" II, No. 7, pp. 11-13 (July, 1943). Cody was cultural and economic officer in the United States embassy in Asuncion. The article is quite correct with the exception of a few misplaced photos. There are other good articles on the Paraguayan background including Asuncion and the Chaco.

Mennonite Central Committee Headquarters Letter, 1940-51.

This was published monthly, in mimeographed form, by MCC at the Akron headquarters. As the paper states: "It is a semi-confidential release providing background and more detailed information on the MCC program for church leaders and administrative leaders at home and abroad. Not for republication." It includes important material on the Latin-American countries in which the MCC works.

There is a similar, but smaller, letter published by the Canadian MCC headquarters at Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario.

The Mennonite Community, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1947-

A monthly magazine emphasizing Mennonite home and community interests in which the secular and the religious are intertwined. Contains a few good articles on Paraguay and Puerto Rico.

Der Mennonit, Basel, Switzerland, 1948-

Published by the MCC this periodical is advertised as an international monthly chiefly for new Mennonite settlers throughout the world. For the first few years, however, it appeared bimonthly. It is intended to, and does, have considerable circulation among the Mennonite immigrants of Latin America as well as among German-speaking Mennonites elsewhere. It therefore carries a number of articles dealing with the Latin-American Mennonites, particularly those in Paraguay, Brazil, and Uruguay. Practically the entire issue of March-April, 1950, deals with Paraguay. Below are the chief articles that have appeared to date.

Peter J. Dyck, "Nach Paraguay," I, 6-7 (Jan.-Feb. 1948).
Nikolai Siemens, "Mennoniten in Asunción," I, 38 (Mai-Juni 1948).
Ernst Harder, "Allgemeine Prediger-Konferenz der Mennoniten in Südamerika," I, 39 (Mai-Juni 1948).
C. A. De Fehr, "Die Wirtschaftliche Loge der Mennoniten-Kolonien im Chaco," I, 45 (Mai-Juni 1948).
"Uruguay, das neueste Heimatland der Mennoniten," I, 100 (Nov.-Dez. 1948).
Herman Andres, "Ankunft in Uruguay," I, 101 (Nov.-Dez. 1948).
"Liste der Einwander nach Uruguay," I, 102-3 (Nov.-Dez. 1948).
N. Siemens, "Geistliches Leben in Fernheim," III, 20-1 (Mar.-Apr. 1950).
Peter Wiens, "Unsere Schulen," III, 21-2 (Mar.-Apr. 1950).

A. Wægele, "Der Gesundheitszustand im Chaco," III, 23-4 (Mar.-Apr. 1950).
Hermann H. Rempel, "Das Schulwesen in der Kolonie Volendam," III, 27-8 (Mar.-Apr. 1950).
Peter Klassen, "Jugend und Jugendarbeit in Fernheim," III, 31-2 (Mar.-Apr. 1950).
A. A. Harder, "Des Schulwesen in der Kolonie Friesland," III, 47 (Mar.-Apr. 1950).
Dr. Klugkist, "Neue Hoffnung in Uruguay," III, 76 (Aug. 1950).
Arthur L. Jahnke, "Eine Skizze von El. Ombu," III, 76-7 (Aug. 1950).
Renata Dyck, "Kolumbien-Land, Leute und Missionen," III, 134-5 (Dez. 1950).
D. J. Quapp, "Neusiedlung in Bage, Brasilien," III, 140 (Dez. 1950).
G. B. Giesbrecht, "Licht den Indianem," IV, 10-11 (Jan. 1951).
David Niddel, "Zum Mennonitischen Leben im Katholischen Land," IV, 13 (Jan. 1951), 22-3 (Feb. 1951).
Ernst Harder, "Jugend und Jugendarbeit in Asunción," IV, 44-5 (Marz 1951).
Jakob A. Loewen, "Missionsarbeit im Choco, Kolumbien," IV, 122-3 (Aug. 1951).
Lydia Peters, "Das Mennonitenheim in Sao Paulo, Brasilien," IV, 124 (Aug. 1951).
"Lepramission in Paraguay," IV, 154-5 (Okt. 1951).
"Liste der Auswanderer nach Uruguay und Paraguay," IV, 168-9 (Nov. 1951).
"Neue Heimat-Uruguay," IV, 170 (Nov. 1951).
Elma Esau, "Von Deutschland Nach Uruguay," V, 21-3 (Feb. 1952).
M. W. Friesen, "Kolonie Menno," V, 100-02 (Jul. 1952).
Jacob Redekopp, "Etwas über das Schulwesen in Volendam," V, 117 (Aug. 1952).

The Mennonite, Newton, Kansas, 1885- .

Weekly organ of the General Conference Mennonites. Contains worth-while relief notes, articles and reports by workers in various mission and relief fields where the Mennonites live.

Mennonite Life, North Newton, Kansas, 1946- .

Edited by Cornelius Krahn of Bethel College, one of the leading authorities on Mennonite history, this magazine appears quarterly and is published "in the interest of the best in the religious, social, and economic phases of Mennonite culture." Well illustrated with excellent pictures, it appeals to the popular side (in the best sense), at the same time producing solid articles of historical and informational value. A number of these articles are on the Mennonites in Latin America, and are written either by people living in these areas or by those visiting these fields and competent to report. As stated earlier these will be listed separately.

In Vol. I, No. 1 (Jan. 1946):
Henry A. Fast, "Mennonites in Paraguay."
In Vol. II, No. 1 (Jan. 1947):
Peter Klassen, "Mennonites in Brazil."
In Vol. II, No. 2 (Apr. 1947):
J. Winfield Fretz, "Mennonites in Mexico."
A. D. Stoesz, "Agriculture Among the Mennonites of Mexico."
Cornelius Wiebe, "Health Conditions Among the Mennonites of Mexico."

P. C. Hiebert and William T. Snyder, "Are the Doors of Mexico Open to Mennonite Immigrants?"
Walter Schmiedehaus, "Mennonite Life in Mexico."
In Vol. II, No. 3 (July 1947):
John R. Schmidt, "Medical Service Under Pioneer Conditions." (Paraguay)
In Vol. II, No. 4 (Oct. 1947):
Waldo Hiebert, "Mennonite Education in the Gran Chaco."
In Vol. III, No. 1 (Jan. 1948):
Walter Schmiedehaus, "Ein Neujahrserlebnis in Mexico."
Peter Dyck, "Peter Dyck's Story."
In Vol. IV, No. 2 (Apr. 1949):
Ruth Birkholtz-Bestvader, "Mission Work in Columbia."
In Vol. IV, No. 3 (July 1949):
Gustav E. Reimer, "Von Danzig nak Uruguay."
H. J. Andres, Colonia Mennonita in Uruguay—27 de Octubre."
In Vol. IV, No. 4 (Oct. 1949):
Walter Schmiedehaus, "New Mennonite Settlements in Mexico."
Peter J. B. Reimer, "From Russia to Mexico—The Story of the Kleine Gemeinde."
In Vol. VI, No. 2 (Apr. 1951):
Marvin Dyck, "Service in Puerto Rico."
In Vol. VI, No. 4 (Oct. 1951):
Cornelius J. Dyck, "The Mennonite Central Committee Witness in South America."
In Vol. VII, No. 1 (Jan. 1952):
Charles Burkhart, "Music of the Old Colony Mennonites." (Mexico) (Editor) "Mennonite Life Goes to Mexico."

Mennonite Quarterly Review, Goshen, Indiana, 1927-

Published by the Mennonite Historical Society, Goshen College, this scholarly quarterly is "devoted to Mennonite history, thought, and current affairs." Harold S. Bender, professor of church history in Goshen College Biblical Seminary, and one of the leading authorities on Mennonite history, has been the editor of the magazine since its founding. Dr. Melvin Gingerich, director of the Mennonite Research Foundation, is now managing editor, and a corps of able authorities are associate editors. There are valuable articles on Latin-American Mennonites as follows:

J. W. Shank, "Mennonitism in a Latin-American Background," II, 192-97 (July 1928).
John B. Faust, "The Mennonite Colony in Paraguay," III, 183-89 (July 1929).
Benjamin H. Unruh, "The Background and Causes of the Flight of the Mennonites from Russia, 1929," IV, 269-81 (Oct. 1930); V, 28-41 (Jan. 1931).
Walter Quiring, "The Canadian Mennonite Immigration into the Paraguayan Chaco, 1926-27," VIII, 32-42 (Jan. 1934).
——— — ———, "The Colonization of the German Mennonites from Russia in the Paraguayan Chaco," VIII, 62-72 (Apr. 1934).
Fritz Kliewer, "The Mennonites of Paraguay," XI, 92-97 (Jan. 1937).

——— ——— ———, "Mennonite Young People's Work in the Paraguayan Chaco," XI, 119-30 (Apr. 1937).
Peter Klassen, "Mennonites of Brazil," XI, 107-18 (Apr. 1937).
Harold S. Bender, "With the Mennonite Refugee Colonies in Brazil and Paraguay," XIII, 59-70 (Jan. 1939).
John Warkentin, "Carving a Home Out of the Primeval Forest," XXIV, 142-48 (Apr. 1950).

Mennonite Weekly Review, Newton, Kansas, 1922-

Published by the Herald Publishing Company, this journal, to use its own words, is "a Mennonite family paper—published in the interest of Mennonites everywhere." It does a good job of covering the Mennonite world and is one of the best in North America with information on Mennonites in Latin America. Besides the periodic MCC news releases, which most Mennonite papers carry, it has quite a few Latin-American news items which it secures from various sources, generally reliable. In addition there are quite a few signed letters, reports, and articles, many of them of considerable value. For example, Dr. Cornelius Krahn's present series on the Mennonites in Mexico is a case in point.

(The series will appear in book form in 1953 under the title "Adventure in Conviction.")

Mennonitische Blätter, published in Germany since 1854.

The leading Mennonite paper in Germany and circulates considerably outside that country. Has considerable material on Mennonite refugees from Russia and articles and letters from the Latin-American countries in which many of the refugees settled as immigrants.

Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter, Weierhof, Germany, 1936-

This is a German Mennonite scholarly journal. The December 1938 issue contains a five page article by Fritz Kliewer on "Die Mennoniten-Kolonie Friesland in Ostparaguay." The bibliographies of periodical literature since 1936 appearing in volumes II-V (1937-1940) list six articles in European journals on Mennonites in Paraguay, Brazil, and Mexico, (1 in 1937, 4 in 1938, and 1 in 1939), three by Walter Quiring.

Mennonitische Rundschau, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1880-

Published earlier at Scottdale and other places. Now published weekly by the Christian Press, Ltd., representing the Mennonite Brethren. It circulates considerably among the Mennonites in Latin America and contains MCC news releases and other news items as well as articles and letters from MCC workers and colonists.

Mennonitische Welt, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1947-

One of the newer Mennonite periodicals in German started by a group who apparently emphasize "Germanism" more than Mennonitism. As with some other Mennonite groups in the past there seems to be some tendency here to confuse the two ideas and to think, so far as Mennonites are concerned, that the two should go together. Included among the articles are a good many on the Mennonites in Latin America, some of them written by those living there. There are also letters from those countries. This journal was called the *Mennonitische Lehrerzeitung* until 1950.

Services Bulletin, Akron, Pennsylvania, 1947-

Published by the MCC for general information about its activ-

ities, the bulletin has considerable worth-while material by MCC workers and others on the Latin-American areas of work.

Southern Notes, Asunción, Paraguay, and Akron, Pennsylvania, 1949-

The successor of *Paraguay Notes* which was started in 1945 by the MCC workers in Paraguay for the purpose of keeping all those interested informed on the work in that country. When the MCC work in South America became greater with the coming of the new Mennonite refugees after World War II, and the MCC director in Asunción became the director of the MCC work in Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina also, *Paraguay Notes,* after a brief lapse, became *Southern Notes.* The purpose remains the same: to keep all interested persons informed on the MCC personnel and work in these countries, and on the Mennonites and their problems; and to give occasional articles on the Latin-American environment in which the Mennonites find themselves. It appears, somewhat irregularly, every few months in mimeographed form and runs from eight to ten pages. *Paraguay Notes* sometimes ran larger. Both contain considerable valuable material.

Steinbach Post, Steinbach, Manitoba, 1926-

A German Mennonite weekly newspaper which advertises itself as "the paper of the German Mennonite farmers in Canada, Mexico, and Paraguay." It circulates in these countries, especially among the emigrants from Canada, and contains considerable news and correspondence from those areas, including some from Brazil.

War Sufferers Relief Bulletin, Akron, Pennsylvania, 1945-47.

A small magazine published monthly by the MCC and devoted to the distribution of information on the organization's relief activities. It contains some material on Latin America. It was discontinued in 1947, and its functions were taken over by the new MCC *Services Bulletin.*

Zionsbote, Hillsboro, Kansas, 1884-

This is a German weekly, "organ of the Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church of North America," published by the M.B. Publishing House. Before 1913 it was published at other places. For the present subject, perhaps the letters and reports from the Mennonite Brethren mission projects in South America are the most valuable in this paper. This church has mission interests in Colombia, Paraguay, Brazil, and Mexico.

Argentina

There are several magazines published by the Mennonite Church in Argentina—*El Camino Verdadero, El Pastoral,* and *La Voz Menonita.* For giving a picture of the work there *La Voz Menonita* is the most valuable of the three. It is the official organ of the Argentine Mennonite Church and has been published monthly at Trenque Lauquen, since 1932.

Brazil

Die Brücke, Witmarsum, Hansa-Hammonia, Santa Catarina, Brazil, 1932-38.

Published by the Brazilian Mennonites with Peter Klassen, prominent minister and writer, as editor. It appeared monthly or bimonthly. Many of its articles were written to inform interested persons outside Brazil of the conditions among the Brazilian Mennonites. Besides statistics and reports of trips and other items, one finds material on the flora and fauna, on economic conditions, and on

religious and educational activity. There is included also information from the Mennonite world elsewhere, especially from Paraguay and Germany, for the benefit of the Brazilian Mennonites. In 1938 the name of the magazine was changed to *Die Neue Brücke* and was edited by persons other than Klassen. Publication was suspended when Brazilian law prohibited the publication of German periodicals.

Colombia

Colombian News and Views.

This is a report, in English, of the Mennonite Brethren mission in Colombia, appearing first in 1949. Information was not available as to where it was published or how often.

Honduras

Missionary Messenger, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1924- .

Published monthly by the Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities. Contains some material on the Mennonite mission established in Honduras in 1950 by this board. Before 1951 the annual reports of this board were published in the magazine. Beginning with 1951 the annual report is published separately at Intercourse, Pennsylvania.

Mexico

El Vecino, Cuauhtémoc, Chihuahua, Mexico, 1947- .

The publication notice in this periodical says that it appears monthly. At times in the past, however, its appearance has been irregular. It is a mimeographed paper of a few pages published in English by the MCC voluntary service unit at Cuauhtemoc and gives information on the work of the unit among the Mexicans and the Mennonites who live in this area. Some information on the Mennonites, of course, is included.

Paraguay

Der Auslanddeutsche, Stuttgart, Germany.

The April 1943 issue contains a well illustrated article by Walter Quiring on "Weltweite Wanderung. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Mennonitenwanderungen der Nachkriegszeit." Pp. 218-28. It is concerned with Mennonite migrations to Paraguay. Copy in Goshen College Library.

Menno-Blatt, Philadelphia, Kolonie Fernheim, Gran-Chaco, Paraguay, 1930-

Started a few months after the Russian Mennonites settled in the Chaco, and still being published, this small paper, published in German, constitutes one of the most important sources of information on the Paraguayan Mennonites. It is their only paper. Appearing monthly, with occasional exceptions, it portrays the various phases of the life of the Fernheim colonists—religious, economic, social, educational, and administrative. Valuable statistics of various kinds are included. Considerable attention is given also to other Mennonite settlements in Paraguay, and some to interests outside the country.

Paraguay Notes, Asunción, Paraguay, and Akron, Pennsylvania, 1945-48.

Described under *Southern Notes.*

Revista de Agricultura y Ganadería, Asunción, Paraguay, 1937-?

This review of Paraguayan agriculture and the cattle industry has in its March-April number, 1938, an article on the Friesland colony. The author, Dr. Carlos Teichmann, tells of a visit to the colony,

and of the flourishing crops being grown on the cleared land. His appraisal of future possibilities was over-optimistic.

Zondagsbode (Dutch Mennonite Weekly)

The Sept. 2 and 9, 1934 issues, pp. 174-5 and 178 contain the article "Kolonisatie en Paraguay," by Walter Quiring.

Puerto Rico

El Heraldo de La Plata, La Plata, Puerto Rico, 1944- .

A rural monthly put out by the MCC relief unit in Puerto Rico. Later when the MCC turned over its Puerto Rican work to the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities the Mennonite Relief Committee of the Board continued the program and the MRC service unit has continued publication of *El Heraldo de La Plata.* It is a mimeographed periodical in the Spanish language, running from six to a dozen or more pages, and is published, of course, for the Puerto Ricans. The periodical includes articles on the work of the unit, rural life, improvement of farming and livestock raising, health and hygiene, home, and young people's activities.

Rio La Plata, Aibonito and La Plata, Puerto Rico, 1943- .

A mimeographed monthly newsletter, running from five to eight pages or more, published at first by the MCC unit at La Plata and later by the same unit serving under the Mennonite Relief Committee (MRC) of the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities after it took over in January, 1950. The purpose of the periodical, published in English, is to give information to interested English-speaking people on the Mennonite relief and service project in Puerto Rico, news about the workers, and information on the Puerto Rican land and people.

3. Books and Pamphlets

Books and pamphlets which pertain altogether, or primarily, to one Latin-American country will be listed under that country. Some, however, have material on several countries, and such can more appropriately be listed under the "general" category.

General

Christlicher Gemeinde-Kalender, Ibersheim, Germany, 1933.

Pages 82-112 contain an excellent historical and descriptive account of the Mennonite colonization in Brazil, with several basic documents. The same yearbook for 1934 contains a similar article on the Mennonite colonization in Paraguay, pp. 98-108. Both articles are by Christian Neff and appear under the general title, "Unsere Neuesten (Neuen) Ansiedlungen."

Dyck, Arnold (editor), *Warte-Jahrbuch fuer die Mennonitische Gemeinschaft in Canada 1943,* Steinbach, Manitoba, Canada. Pp. 121.

A quite incomplete yearbook which contains a fairly good article, by Fritz Kliewer of Fernheim colony, Paraguay, on Friesland, the Mennonite colony founded in East Paraguay in 1937 by those dissatisfied with conditions in the Chaco. This yearbook appeared only for one additional year, 1944, but nothing on Latin America appears in it.

Fretz, Winfield, *Mennonite Colonization Lessons from the Past for the Future,* Mennonite Central Committee, Akron, Pennsylvania, 1944. Pp. 79.

A good summary but deals very briefly with colonization in Latin America.

Gorter, S. H. N., *Doopsgezinde Emigratie. Radioespraak van S.H.N. Gorter,* Amsterdam, no date. Pp. 12.

This is a pamphlet dealing with the emigration of Mennonites to South America.

Hege, Christian, and Neff, Christian (editors), *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* Frankfurt am Main und Weierhof (Pfalz) Germany, 1913- .

This German Mennonite encyclopedia is the excellent fruit of the above-mentioned German, and other, scholars. It is still in progress. Started before the Mennonite migrations to Latin America began, it is only the later volumes which contain information on the present subject. There is a good article on Menno colony and shorter ones on the *Menno-Blatt* of Fernheim, and on the Mennonite Central Committee which includes some material on the committee's work in Paraguay.

It might be pointed out here that a new and more complete Mennonite Encyclopedia, in English, is now in the process of being published. In it will be included many articles on the Mennonites in Latin America.

Hildebrand, J. J., *Chronologische Zeittafel 1500 Daten historischer Ereignisse und Geschehnisse aus der Zeit der Geschichte der Mennoniten Westeuropas, Russlands und Amerikas. Stam- und Tochtersiedlungen der Mennoniten in Russland und die Veranlassungen Zur Eröffnung des Zweiten Einwanderungsweges aus Russland nach Kanada anno 1927,* Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, 1945. Pp. 416.

This rambling discussion of what the author considers the more important dates and happenings in Mennonite history contains a few items on the migrations to Latin America. The author claims to have used unquestionable sources, but his evident biases make his work none too trustworthy.

Horst, Irvin B., *A Ministry of Goodwill,* Mennonite Central Committee, Akron, Pennsylvania, 1950. Pp. 119.

A short account of Mennonite relief from 1939 to 1948. Chapter V, containing thirteen pages, discusses "Assistance in Latin America."

Mennonitisches Jahrbuch. 1948. Edited by C. Krahn, Mennonite Publication Office, Newton, Kansas.

Contains articles on the Mennonites in Latin America.

(Mennonite Central Committee) *Twenty Five Years. The Story of the MCC 1920-1945,* Mennonite Central Committee, Akron, Pennsylvania.

An illustrated pamphlet giving a very brief history of MCC activities.

Smith, C. Henry, *The Story of the Mennonites,* Third Edition Revised and Enlarged by Cornelius Krahn, Mennonite Publication Office, Newton, Kansas, 1950. Pp. 856.

This standard work on the history of the Mennonites contains, besides incidental references, 35 pages on the founding of the Mennonite settlements in Mexico, Paraguay, and Brazil.

Unruh, John D., *In the Name of Christ, A History of the Mennonite Central Committee and Its Service 1920-1951,* Herald Press, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1952. Pp. 404.

This account, by a trained historian, contains a considerable amount of material on the relief activities of the MCC in Paraguay, Puerto Rico, Brazil, Uruguay, and Mexico. It is a detailed history of the various activities of the MCC and supersedes the pamphlet mentioned above.

Widmer, Gladys, *We Study Latin America,* Mennonite Commission for Christian Education and Young People's Work and the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, Elkhart, Indiana, 1951. Pp. 38.

A mission study guide of thirteen lessons for adults and juniors, dealing largely with Argentina and Puerto Rico.

Yoder, Sanford Calvin, *For Conscience Sake, A Study of Mennonite Migrations Resulting from the World War,* Mennonite Historical Society, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana, 1940. Pp. 300.

A valuable work on Mennonite migrations after World War I. Nearly half of the account is given to the migrations to Mexico, Paraguay, and Brazil.

Argentina

Since there are only incidental published references on the few hundred Russian Mennonites in Argentina, the references listed here will have to do only with the mission work of the (old) Mennonites. The best source is the Annual Reports of the South America Mennonite Mission, included in the published Annual Reports of the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities. The following should be mentioned in addition:

Shank, J. W., *South America, A Report of Observations in Five Nations* (1912). Pp. 91.

Sent by the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, Shank, in 1911, made the pioneer Mennonite investigation in South America which resulted in the founding of the Mennonite Mission in Argentina in 1917. His report is the above account. No place of publication is given, although it was probably Scottdale.

Shank, Josephus W., *South America, An Open Door,* Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1920. Pp. 121.

Written by one of the first Mennonite missionaries to Argentina to increase interest in mission work in that country. Written especially for mission study classes.

————, *Glimpses of South American Life,* Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1925. Pp. 67.

————, *Our Neighbors in South America,* Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1934. Pp. 119.

These last two booklets by the veteran Mennonite missionary to Argentina are mission studies particularly for juniors. Shank is a good writer and a good observer.

————, *We Enter the Chaco Indian Work, A Statement of Historical Development, Present Progress, Plans, Ideals, and Description of Our Mennonite Mission Among the Chaco Indians in Argentina,* Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, Elkhart, Indiana (recent, no date). Pp. 63.

An excellent discussion.

Shank, J. W., Hershey, T. K., Lantz, D. Parke, Litwiller, Nelson, Snyder, Elvin, Weber, L. S., and others, *The Gospel Under the Southern Cross, A History of the Argentine Mennonite Mission of South America, Celebrating Its Twenty-Fifth Anniversary, 1917-1942,* Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1943. Pp. 272.

A valuable book of history, reminiscences, and illustrations giving an over-all picture of the Mennonite Argentine mission during the first quarter century of its development.

Weber, Lewis S., *Argentina from Within,* Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1945. Pp. 174.

Prepared as a textbook for use in a course on South American missions, this book, by one who spent many years in Argentina, treats of the Mennonite work in its larger Latin-American cultural background.

Yoder, Sanford Calvin, *Down South America Way,* Herald Press, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1943. Pp. 148.

A report by the secretary of the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities who made a trip of investigation to the Argentine Mennonite churches in 1942.

About half of the book is given to a report of the author's tour among the Mennonites in Paraguay on the same trip.

Brazil

So far as the present writer is aware little has been published in books or pamphlets which deals with the Mennonites of Brazil alone. A fairly substantial part of P. C. Hiebert's *Mitteilungen von der Reise nach Süd-Amerika* is given to his tour among the Brazilian Mennonites, and brief attention is given in Smith's *Paraguayan Interlude,* and Janzen's *Glimpses of South America.* (For the listing of these books see under Paraguay.) As noted above, C. Henry Smith's *Story of the Mennonites* also deals briefly with Brazil. Other than from these, with a few exceptions, information must be secured from unpublished sources, and materials such as those found in periodicals, published reports of Mennonite Conferences, and MCC releases. Walter Quiring, however, is now completing his book on the Mennonites of Brazil. The exceptions referred to above, in addition to the *Christlicher Gemeinde Kalender* of 1933 and Gorter's *Doopgezinde Emigradie* are the following items:

Brepohl, Pfarrer Friedrich Wilhelm, *Brasilien und die Einwanderung russlanddeutscher Mennoniten-Flüchtlinge. Historische Randglossen zur Einwanderung und Ansiedlung aus Russland gleflohener deutscher Mennoniten,* Ponta Grossa (Parana), Brasil. (1930?)

A short pamphlet written soon after the arrival of the first Mennonites in Brazil and intended to help them.

Brepohl, Pfarrer Friedrich Wilhelm, *Fluechtlinge in Brasilien,* Ponta Grossa, Parana, Brasil, 1932. Pp. 20. This is a short account printed by the Aid Committee for Russian-German refugees settling in the Ponta Grossa area of Brazil. It is a sympathetic account of the Mennonite settlement in the Krauel valley.

(Mennonite Brethren Church) *Foreign Missions, Mennonite Brethren Mission, Brazil,* Board of Foreign Missions of the Mennonite Brethren Church, Hillsboro, Kansas (no date). Pp. 21.

A good report on the opening of this mission in 1946 in Curitiba, Parana, Brazil. The mission is located near a Mennonite community.

Z. Kamerling, *De Doopsgezinden in Brazilië,* J. H. De Bussy, Amsterdam, no date. Pp. 19.

A review of the history of the Mennonite settlement in Brazil.

Colombia

Stuckey, Gerald, *Colombia's Challenge,* Women's Missionary Society of the General Conference Mennonite Church, Newton, Kansas, 1951. Pp. 26.

In this pamphlet, which is well illustrated, the story of the founding and the problems of the new General Conference Mennonite mission in Colombia is briefly told by one of the first missionaries.

Mexico

Fretz, J. Winfield, *Mennonite Colonization in Mexico, An Introduction,* Mennonite Central Committee, Akron, Pennsylvania, 1945. Pp. 43.

This booklet is the result of a brief study tour made by the author in 1944. Though merely an introduction to the subject, the booklet contains much of interest to Mennonites and non-Mennonites, especially as a study of the techniques of colonization. It includes some population statistics as of that time.

Schmiedehaus, Walter, *Ein feste Burg is unser Gott. Der Wanderweg eines christlichen Siedlervolkes,* Druck G. J. Rempel, Blumenort, Cuauhtemoc, Chih., Mexico, 1948. Pp. 307.

The author, not a Mennonite, was for some time a German consular official, and a businessman, in the city of Chihuahua. He gives something of the background of the Old Colony Mennonites in Mexico together with the history of their settlement and development. Living for some years in the neighborhood of the Mennonites, and a friend and adviser, Schmiedehaus is a close and not unsympathetic observer of the people about whom he writes.

Paraguay

General

Kraus, Hertha, *International Relief in Action, 1914-1943, Selected Records with Notes* (Sponsored by American Friends Service Committee, Brethren Service Committee, Mennonite Central Committee), Herald Press, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1944. Pp. 248.

Contains a few pages on the Mennonites in Fernheim colony.

Mecham, J. Lloyd, *Church and State in Latin America, A History of Politico-Ecclesiastical Relations,* University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1934. Pp. 540.

The book is chiefly valuable as illustrative of those general accounts which while giving more or less accurate information as a whole can be quite misleading as to the Mennonites. In less than two pages devoted to the Mennonites in Paraguay, there are at least a half-dozen incorrect or misleading statements, the most important of which is that "the Paraguayan-Bolivian conflict in the Gran Chaco has forced the abandonment of the colony." Naturally, with more information on the Latin-American Mennonites published since the above book appeared, more accuracy is possible.

Warren, Harris Gaylord, *Paraguay, An Informal History,* University of Oklahoma Press, 1949. Pp. 393.

Historical works on Paraguay in English are scarce. Readers wanting the historical and cultural background of the country in

which over 12,000 Mennonites have found a new home can not do better than read the above recently published work. A few of the statements on the Mennonites are inaccurate, such, for instance, as the one which says that the first arrivals "avoided those hardships so often a part of new colonization efforts," and that they had "comfortable" living quarters in Puerto Casado while waiting until dwellings could be built in the Chaco.

Special Accounts

Fretz, Joseph Winfield, *Pilgrims in Paraguay. The Story of Mennonite Colonization in South America,* Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pa., 1953. (In press.) Under the auspices of the MCC, Dr. Fretz, professor of sociology at Bethel College, made, in 1951, an on-the-field study of social and economic conditions among the Mennonites in South America, particularly in Paraguay. This work, now in press, will be published early in 1953. It includes valuable statistical material and will constitute the most important contribution in its field.

Hershey, T. K., *Official Report of a Visit Made in February, 1929 to the Mennonite Colony of Paraguay, S.A.,* Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, Elkhart, Ind., no date. Pp. 12.

Missionaries T. K. Hershey and Amos Swartzendruber, representing the Mennonite Church, visited the Paraguay Mennonite colony to determine the relief needs of the colonists. This is the report of their findings.

Hiebert, Peter Cornelius, *Mitteilungen von der Reise nach Süd Amerika,* Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, Hillsboro, Kansas (1937). Pp. 77.

The author, president of the MCC from its beginning, gives us in this booklet a firsthand report of his experiences and observations on a visit to the Mennonites of Brazil and Paraguay in 1937. A little more than half of the space is given to Paraguay. Hiebert made the trip as a representative of the MCC and of his own church, the Mennonite Brethren.

Intercontinental Company Ltd., *Paraguay-Chaco Heimatland,* Standard Bank Bldg., Winnipeg, Canada. Pp. 20.

This is an advertising brochure, well illustrated, put out by the company which handled the Canadian land sales of the Mennonites leaving for Paraguay, as the Corporación Paraguaya handled the land purchases in Paraguay. Both companies were headed by the same individuals. The present pamphlet, like many of its kind, paints the virtues of Paraguay and the Chaco in rather rosy colors. The fact that a number of its illustrations include pictures of the Canadian Mennonite delegates who inspected the Chaco in 1921 does not diminish the effectiveness of this advertising material. There is also an English edition of this brochure, but this was not available to the writer.

Janzen, Abraham E., *Glimpses of South America,* Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, Hillsboro, Kansas, 1944. Pp. 130.

In 1943 Professor A. E. Janzen of Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas, was asked by the MCC to go to Brazil and Paraguay to help solve some of the more pressing problems of the Mennonites at that time. In order to share his information with the many people interested, Janzen published his findings in the above report. It is an interesting and worth-while account of social, economic, and re-

ligious conditions among the Paraguayan Mennonites and observations en route. Only brief attention is given the Brazilian Mennonites. It includes a number of illustrations.

Kempski, Dr. Carlos, *Die Landwirtschaft im Paraguayischen Chaco,* Mercur, Buenos Aires, 1931. Pp. 148.

A fairly detailed study of the botanical possibilities of the Chaco. Dr. Kempski visited the Chaco Mennonites in the latter half of 1930. Since the Fernheim colony was founded only a few months before, most of the author's observations were made among the Canadian Mennonites in Menno colony. Time has shown that Kempski's report was too optimistic. It was not based on sufficient investigation and experimentation. This work was also translated into Spanish under the title *La Agricultura en el Chaco Paraguayo* and published by Liberîa del Plata, Buenos Aires, 1948.

(Mennonite Brethren Church) *Foreign Missions, Mennonite Brethren Mission to the Chaco Indians,* Board of Foreign Missions of the Mennonite Brethren Church, Hillsboro, Kansas, 1950. Pp. 59.

An interesting discussion of the founding and the development of this mission effort of the Fernheim Mennonites to Christianize and civilize the Indians, particularly the Lenguas, round about them. The Paraguayan government has given this work its blessing. Considerable aid and some of the missionaries have come from North America. The Mennonite Brethren Church of North America has recently taken over the responsibility of operating the mission.

Ministerio De Economía (Republica Del Paraguay), *Las Colonias Mennonitas en el Chaco Paraguayo,* Imprenta Nacional, Asuncion, 1934. Pp. 64.

This is a rare and valuable booklet on the Chaco Mennonites, put out by the Paraguayan government. The present writer knows how rare it is from his experience in Paraguay where he tried, unsuccessfully, to secure a copy. Besides including the famous *privilegium* of the Mennonites, it contains statistical and descriptive material on conditions in Menno and Fernheim as of 1933-34. Dr. Sigfrido Gross-Brown, prominent Paraguayan, who knows and understands the Mennonites well, wrote up most of the report. There are parallel texts in Spanish and German.

Quiring, Walter, *Weltweite Wanderung,* Stuttgart, 1934.

———————, *Deutsche erschliessen den Chaco,* Heinrich Schneider, Karlsruhe, Germany (1936). Pp. 208.

———————, *Russlanddeutsche suchen eine Heimat Die deutsche Einwanderung in den paraguayischen Chaco,* Heinrich Schneider, Karlsruhe, Germany (1938). Pp. 192.

Dr. Quiring is a pioneer writer on the Mennonites in Paraguay. The first work listed above was taken from a larger work, *Der Auslanddeutsche,* and printed separately. Like his articles on the same subject in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* in 1934, the first work above is a short version which appeared while the author was working on the book *Deutsche erschliessen den Chaco.* This latter work deals in considerable detail with the pioneer efforts, problems, and development of the Chaco Mennonites. Economic conditions are stressed but others are not neglected.

In *Russlanddeutsche suchen eine Heimat,* Quiring gives in considerable detail the history of the founding of Menno and Fernheim colonies. The two books constitute the best secondary works on the

founding and development of the Chaco colonies during the early years. The pro-German viewpoint of the author, only occasionally evident, does not necessarily mar their historical value. Dr. Quiring, a Mennonite born in South Russia, was a German educator who spent some time in Paraguay in 1932 and 1933. He now lives in Canada.

Schmidt, John R., *The Practice of Medicine for Our Mennonites in the Chaco, Paraguay,* Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Association, General Conference Mennonites of North America. Pp. 11.

Dr. Schmidt, a North American, spent a number of years practicing medicine in the Mennonite colonies in the Chaco and thus speaks from personal experience.

Smith, Willard H., with the collaboration of Smith, Verna Graber, *Paraguayan Interlude, Observations and Impressions,* Herald Press, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1950. Pp. 184.

Professor of history and assistant professor of Spanish, respectively, in Goshen College, the authors were asked by MCC to serve in Paraguay during the years 1944 and 1945. He was director of the MCC work there while Mrs. Simth was matron of the Mennonite Center in Asuncion. This book is the outgrowth of their observations and impressions en route and in Paraguay, and includes some historical background. Most of the material deals with the Mennonites in that country, but some attention is given also to the larger Paraguayan background. Brief references are made also to the Brazilian and Argentine Mennonites.

Yoder, Sanford Calvin, *Down South America Way,* Herald Press, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1948. Pp. 148.

Described under Argentina. Since about half of the book deals with the author's trip to the Mennonites of Paraguay it is also included here. The author's literary style and sympathetic interest are evident in this report.

Puerto Rico

Gingerich, Melvin, *Service for Peace, A History of Mennonite Civilian Public Service,* Mennonite Central Committee, Akron, Pennsylvania, 1949. Pp. 508.

A careful and thorough history of the alternate service activities of the Mennonite conscientious objectors who in World War II took the IV-E position. Dr. Gingerich is head of the Mennonite Research Foundation. Since one of the CPS units was located in Puerto Rico, about seven pages of the book are devoted to a discussion of its activities.

Holsinger, Justus G., *Serving Rural Puerto Rico, A History of Eight Years of Service by the Mennonite Church.* Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1952. Pp. 232.

The story of Mennonites in Puerto Rico goes back only to the days of World War II when the MCC in co-operation with the Brethren Service Committee, started relief work in Puerto Rico as one of the alternate types of service for conscientious objectors. Later this work developed into a continuing missionary activity carried on by the Mennonite Church. This book is a detailed and adequate history of this work from the beginning to the present. The author is well qualified to write what is likely to be the standard account for a long time. He has taught history in several of our Mennonite colleges, and has served in Puerto Rico as a relief worker and missionary most of the time since the work was started.

Widmer, Gladys, *We Enter Puerto Rico, A Statement of Historical Development, Description, Present Progress, and Plans (Largely a Compilation) of Our Mennonite Mission in the Six Years of Work in Puerto Rico 1946-1951,* Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, Elkhart, Indiana, 1952. Pp. 95.

A mission study booklet to go along with the mission study guide, *We Study Latin America.* Contains a historical summary of the beginning of the Mennonite work in Puerto Rico, together with incidents of the missionaries in working with people, and glimpses of Puerto Rican life in the Mennonite areas. Much of the booklet is a compilation of pertinent quotations and articles from other sources: particularly church papers and the annual reports of the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities.

Willard H. Smith

BOOK REVIEWS

The Mennonite Church in the Second World War. By Guy Franklin Hershberger. Scottdale: Mennonite Publishing House, 1951. Pp. 290. $3.50.

The contents make clear that the purpose of the author was to review the experiences of one particular Mennonite group, the (old) Mennonites, as they were affected by the second World War. It is not a complete history for a particular period as the title and foreword might initially suggest. It does, however, cover a remarkable cross section of the life of one church group. Included are the life, work, and witness inasmuch as these were related to or affected by the war.

The twenty chapters could roughly be grouped in six major categories: the Civilian Public Service program and the church, members in military service and the church, how the whole church was directly tested by the war, the effect of war and CPS on the regular church program, the new service program stimulated by the war, and the teaching and administrative work of the church peace and service programs.

The author rather consistently treats his subject matter as a concern of the entire Mennonite constituency, and then views it from the perspective of this particular group, the (old) Mennonite Church. This frequently results in a review of such things as the coming of Selective Service, typical CPS camp work and life which are more completely covered in other Mennonite books. These reviews are very well done and essential for the total perspective of his readers. Giving local perspective on such matters as the "financial support of CPS" is a distinctive contribution of this work to the total writings available on this phase and period of Mennonite history.

A brief but significant chapter is devoted to the "prodigals in uniform," those of this particular Mennonite group who accepted military service. The results of the preliminary census of 1942 were considered by church leaders at the time to be "startling" and "most serious." Early in the war official church statements recommended considering men who entered the army as "transgressors." The *Gospel Herald* (official church paper of this Mennonite group) through its editorials apparently helped to promote the position that "full standing in the church must depend upon a repudiation of all militaristic sentiment and participation" but it promoted a redemptive attitude rather than a cold, shunning shoulder. A series of resolutions from district conferences are quoted. Although the author does not give very much of what actually happened on the local level, he says such persons throughout the church generally had their membership "in question" if they went to the army and in the eastern states they were often dropped from membership lists when they left for the army. Discipline efforts varied greatly among congregations and districts. The 1949 questionnaire revealed that the (old) Mennonite Church had thus lost approximately 900 young men, of whom 68 per cent were at that time members of no church or their membership was unknown.

The chapter, "The Entire Brotherhood Is Tested," is richly documented with various official expressions and study committee reactions to such problems as civil defense. A major problem for the brotherhood at home was in relation to work in war industries. The Peace Problems Committee, the important and able body responsible for the (old) Mennonites on peace matters, showed themselves alert on a wide front of issues such as these.

The first half of the book to which reference has been made thus far dealt largely with the draft and other wartime programs such as war bonds.

The three chapters following (XII-XIV) throw the focus more on how the war in general as well as CPS affected the regular organized life of the church—the district and general conferences, missions, and the colleges. Some of this deals with the handicaps of wartime restrictions. An interesting example given is that of the enthusiastic vacation Bible school promoter who writing in the *Gospel Herald,* urged smaller vacation Bible schools, and more use of bicycles, horses, and buggies to get around the gasoline and tire shortage!

New material is presented by the author on the relation of war, CPS, and missions to each other. Perhaps in no other Mennonite books do we have actual reports from the workers on the foreign mission field which give us even a glimpse of how our foreign converts reacted to the church position against military participation. Apparently the (old) Mennonite mission churches in India and Argentina took a position similar to the American Mennonite Church and also lost considerable members.

(Old) Mennonite foreign missions grew by steady strides after the peak of war restrictions. This is to be seen in the new fields opened: Puerto Rico, China, Ethiopia, Belgium, and later, Japan. This growth is also revealed in their contributions of $183,705.40 in 1941 to $934,305.31 in 1946. In 1947 was begun a five-year goal of 63 missionary recruits for regular full-time service and 20 additional short-term workers on foreign fields. The (old) Mennonite expansion of fields shows as probably no other Mennonite group can a strong follow-up of the total Mennonite relief effort. Though the author does not suggest it, one would surmise that several factors were strongly involved for this group which were not quite so true for other Mennonite groups. One of these was the organizational tie-up of relief and missions by having their Mennonite Relief Committee as a subcommittee of their Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities. Probably an even greater factor was the overlapping of key personnel between these two bodies. Then one wonders whether this group had not reached a readiness by the time of the war to more nearly use their potential. The above factors of organization and alert and overlapping leadership made possible this good dovetailing with the preparatory work done by relief, and with the service personnel uncovered and nurtured by CPS. At any rate the information presented by the author on this great missionary advance provides a good deal of material for fruitful thought by other Mennonite groups on the advantages of correlating relief, missions, and alternative service.

A major portion of the author's presentation on relief is a review of the Mennonite Central Committee program of projects and personnel, weaving in and out the particular part which this Mennonite group had in the total. Though the author does not underscore the fact, it is well not to forget that their own Mennonite Relief Committee pioneered for MCC relief work in the Spanish relief operations of 1937-40. Then they blended most of their relief effort with the total MCC program until some years later when sub-units of the MCC program were financed and staffed by the MRC. Later chapters on inter-group relations interpret this move as steps taken to meet the criticism of a portion of their constituency who did not appreciate the MCC relationship. In terms of finances for the relief program (not the refugee resettlement) the (old) Mennonite groups contributed approximately $1,275,000.00 of the total $3,520,000.00 cash channeled through MCC relief. Of the total 572 men and women who served the MCC "In the Name of Christ" 49 per cent came from the (old) Mennonite Church.

The author traces the original stimulus for organized youth voluntary service in his group to 1942 when the demand for emergency service arose from the pressures of civilian defense. This led to the first MRC experimental units in the summer of 1944 just when the Mennonite Central Committee was also having its first women's units in mental hospitals. The author rightly sees the stimulus for MCC Voluntary Service coming mainly from CPS though we should not forget the suggestive influence of Quaker work camps in which some Mennonites had been working before CPS, and which had led to papers on voluntary service to some other Mennonite conferences some years before 1942. An important step in the development of (old) Mennonite service units was a report from a special study committee to the Peace Problems Committee in February of 1943. The author quotes this document which has been a basic structural influence on all Mennonite voluntary service programs. In 1949 the total enrollment in (old) Mennonite service units was 77 and at the same time this group had 89 in the MCC Voluntary Service program.

In one of the last chapters the author gives a concise summary of the peace literature produced by all the various Mennonite organizations. The productions of the (old) Mennonite groups are outstanding and show an amazing vision as well as persistency which began long before the second World War. Actually the reader cannot fully appreciate the background for this entire peace and service expression during the second World War if he does not know of the threefold task envisioned and authorized in 1927 for the Peace Problems Committee. This master strategy stimulated by the desire to be better prepared than they were for the first World War provided first for the strengthening of the peace position by various means, second, representing the church to government on peace matters, and third, interpreting nonresistance to other people outside the Mennonite Church.

The unique aspect of the entire book is probably the chapter on intergroup relations, that is, with government officials, other peace organizations, the historic peace churches, and the inter-Mennonite relations. For profitable co-operation, which the author encourages, it "requires Christian courtesy on the one hand and critical evaluation on the other." The author upholds the actions and views of the Peace Problems Committee which recognized dangers of co-operation with those not like-minded. Yet they felt that such co-operation was justified in view of the many things yet to be learned and for the opportunity of witnessing and helping others to Biblical nonresistance.

In summarizing the impact of the second World War on the (old) Mennonite Church, the author emphasized the new awareness of the contribution she was called upon to make in theology and in practice of the faith, the enlarged vision as to her place in the field of missions, the new social consciousness, the much clearer vision of the church concerning the place of youth in the work of the church, and the much clearer realization of the weakness in the life of the church.

As in his other writings, the author and his publishers have done a scholarly work. Though considerable of the material has appeared before this, it has never been brought together in a manner so that church leaders of all Mennonite groups and others could so conveniently glean the lessons from the past particularly as it relates to the promotion of the nonresistant peace principle. There is much, for example, that any group can learn by way of financing such church projects. The author makes all of this material readable by many concrete situations and by a certain forthrightness on points of differences even within his own group. With the exception of

some confusion regarding the use of the "Mennonite Church," the author has written so clearly that readers from outside of his group will readily follow his story of the whole and yet fully appreciate the manner in which he gives the detail on one particular group.

Newton, Kansas Elmer M. Ediger

History of the Church of the Brethren in Indiana. By historical committees of the districts. Published by authorization of the district conferences of the Church of the Brethren in Indiana (no place), 1952. Pp. 508. $3.00.

Thirty-five years have passed since Otho Winger compiled his *History of the Church of the Brethren in Indiana* (1917). Feeling the need of more up-to-date information regarding their congregations, the three district conferences of the Church of the Brethren in Indiana authorized their historical committees to gather data that traces the development of their congregations since that time. This the committee proceeded to do by contacting the congregations for the information needed. The newly published book bears the same title as the earlier one. Two fifths of it is devoted to sketches of individual congregations, grouping them by conference districts and then arranging them alphabetically by name of congregation within the group. There follow chapters on the district conferences, missionary activities, Manchester College, Camp Alexander Mack, biographical sketches, and the sessions of the national conference—the Annual Meeting of the Church of the Brethren—which have been held in the state. As noted, the congregations are treated in alphabetical order within district groupings. Within the two sections of sketches of biographies of leaders—one group of sketches in greater detail than the other—there is also an alphabetical arrangement. In the chapter on missionary activities, individual sketches are arranged by seniority. The book contains many illustrations of church buildings, institutions, and leaders. It is entirely without index.

There are a few things lacking in *The History of the Church of the Brethren in Indiana* which keep it from serving in the fullest sense as the title implies it would. It is almost completely lacking in interpretation. Further, the reader cannot be certain of the sources from which the information has come. Much of the information, it seems from the preface, was taken from Winger's book of 1917. The congregational sketches were supplemented with data secured from individuals in the congregations. Did this data come from actual records, or is it based on the memories of these individuals? One suspects that the biographical sketches were written by individuals who had been personally acquainted with the subject of the sketch, but all sketches are unsigned. In fact, one cannot trace individual responsibility for any one part of the book. While the arrangement of the book, as noted, follows a definite system, one might question the propriety of this system for an area history of a church group. For instance, the history of the Goshen City congregation is not complete without the early history of the older Rock Run congregation, which does not appear until twenty pages later. But to place the Rock Run congregation in its chronological place in the history of the Northern District one must flip the seventy-two pages of Chapter II, watching the dates in the headings of the congregation sketches. One cannot do even this in Chapters I and III, which include the sketches for the Middle and Southern Districts, respectively, where the headings are composed of the name of the congregation only without date. There is no explanation for two categories of biographical sketches. The book lacks unity, both in treatment and in quality of

presentation. Instead of being "a history," it is a series of histories without a single chapter to tie them together. And still, one should not minimize its importance to the history of the Church of the Brethren in Indiana, for it is a mine of historical data upon which a more chronological and interpretative history can be built.

Goshen College N. P. Springer

The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century. By Roland H. Bainton. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1952. Pp. xi, 276, illustr. $3.75.

An up-to-date text on the Reformation, both scholarly and popular at the same time, has been overdue for a long time. And now such a book is before us, packing in its 261 pages the entire scope of church-historical events during the sixteenth century, except for the story of the Catholic Church. Professor Bainton's mastery of storytelling is too well known to need extra praise. His *Church of Our Fathers* (1941) and *Here I Stand* (1950, a Luther biography) are so widely read and used and liked that no special recommendation of this newest book of his pen seems to be necessary. Once you open the book you will not lay it down until you have reached page 261. The drama of rising new churches against strong odds, their getting rooted among people everywhere, and then their fight and victory is here presented with unsurpassed skill, using the English language with high brilliancy, and needless to say, with all the refinements of high scholarship. The book is full of tenseness in the presentation of events and ideas. Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and the Anglicans represent the main branches of the new Protestant movement. Fortunately, the Anabaptists are not overlooked, either; they are depicted with equal sympathy as another branch, namely, as "the church withdrawn" (chapter five).

To write about this so manifold Anabaptist movement of the sixteenth century on not more than fifteen pages is quite an undertaking. By and large, Bainton is successful. No one could expect any completeness either in this chapter or elsewhere, but for a general introduction to readers otherwise ignorant of these Anabaptists, the chapter will certainly arouse sympathetic interest. On page 104, Bainton even presents an Anabaptist hymn (taken from Wackernagel, *Das Deutsche Kirchenlied*) in a fine English versified translation by the author himself. A short quotation from Menno Simons and one from the *Martyrs' Mirror* illustrate well the readiness of these brethren to suffer martyrdom for the sake of their faith.

Bainton's book has also a chapter on the "Free Spirits" where Sebastian Franck is briefly quoted and the Anti-Trinitarian movement (Socinianism and Michel Servetus) finds an understanding historian. The last three chapters deal with: "The Struggle for Religious Liberty" (the treatment is quite different from the one in the author's book, *Travail . . .*, reviewed elsewhere in this issue), "Reformation and the Political Sphere" (popular sovereignty, revolution, etc.), and "Reformation and the Economic and Domestic Sphere" (capitalism, marriage and divorce, etc.). It is almost too much for so restricted a space, and sometimes one regrets this "survey" character of the book. If it would have been twice as big it still would have been an exciting reading due to the uniqueness and richness of the subject matter. Since the days of Lindsay's two-volume *History of the Reformation* (1916, 1917) no similar book has been presented by an American church historian.

That the great theological issues are but barely touched by Bainton is understandable, but they are missed nevertheless. It was revealing to this reviewer to learn that the intense concern for personal salvation (and the

assurance of it by the new theology) which we usually connect with Protestantism, was stressed only by Lutheranism, as Luther himself worried so endlessly about this point. The Reformation in Switzerland and the Anglican Church never emphasized it, and neither did Anabaptists make it the center of their faith. Calvin, in particular, was rather unconcerned in this regard. It is interesting to realize that it was "New England Calvinism which reverted to worry over salvation. Calvin took participation in the sacraments as a mark of election while New England required emotional evidence of salvation prior to the participation" (from a letter by the author).

The book has 24 full-page illustrations from contemporary woodcuts (a well-known technique of Bainton, used so successfully in all his books). One of these is a Jan Luyken cut taken from van Braght's *Martyrs' Mirror*. That some of these contemporary illustrations have an outspoken pamphleteering nature (the fight against the papacy) might be regretted. There are two minor errors in the book regarding the Anabaptists which need correction. On page 100, it is said that "they held all things in common," which is true only of the Hutterites but not of all the rest. On page 260, we read (concerning divorce) "The Anabaptists would not tolerate mixed marriages, and if only one party joined their ranks the union was declared dissolved with freedom to contract a new relationship within the religious society." The first part of this statement is, by and large, correct, but not the conclusion. As long as the (unbelieving) separated partner did not remarry (i.e., did not commit "adultery"), the one within the brotherhood could by no means remarry. It was a separation and no divorce in the proper sense. The brethren were too strict in the obedience to the Word of God to allow such liberties.

A handy bibliography (pp. 262-68) concludes the book; the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* is mentioned, also H. S. Bender (*Grebel*), J. Horsch (*Menno Simons*), R. Friedmann (*Concept of an Anabaptist*), and C. Krahn (*Historiography*, etc.). I regret the omission of C. Henry Smith's *Story of the Mennonites*.

Robert Friedmann
Kalamazoo, Michigan

The Travail of Religious Liberty, nine biographical studies. By Roland H. Bainton, Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1951. Pp. 272. $4.00.

Roland H. Bainton, Professor of Church History at Yale Divinity School, is too well known a scholar and friend of the "Left Wing of the Reformation" as to need any further introduction. His recent Luther biography, *Here I Stand*, has already become a modern classic. To receive his newest book, here reviewed, was a real surprise. It has been known by his friends that the issue and history of religious toleration, "the travail of religious liberty," has always been one of his dominant themes, and many articles and books (in English, German, and Italian) have come from his pen, clearing up the inner history of this great topic of Modern Church History. He had always hoped for an opportunity to draw up a comprehensive picture of this "travail" which in the last analysis led to some provisions in the American Constitution. A series of lectures at Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va., in 1950, made it possible for Bainton to present, even if not comprehensively, a picture of the rise of religious liberty from the days of the Reformation to the triumph of toleration in the England of the Glorious Revolution. The "travail" is splendidly dramatized by way of nine biographical studies: (1) Torquemada and the Spanish Inquisition, (2) Luther and Calvin,

(3) Michel Servetus, the unitarian martyr, (4) Castellio, the undaunted fighter for toleration in Switzerland, (5) David Joris, "the heretic as hypocrite", (6) Ochino, the heretic as restless exile, (7) John Milton, (8) Roger Williams, the seeker of Rhode Island, and (9) John Locke, "the apologist for the act of toleration."

In some regards this book lies outside the scope of this Mennonite journal. Though the Anabaptists are mentioned many times, their concern for religious toleration, or rather freedom of conscience, is not dealt with. In fact, the theme of the book is avowedly one-sided, searching in the main for the roots of the modern theories of religious liberty. From Bainton's excellent analyses it becomes quite evident that the lineage of these theories runs from Erasmus of Rotterdam to Sébastien Castellio, thence to the Dutch Remonstrants, and from here directly to John Locke and the men of the "Glorious Revolution." In some regards the modern Unitarians may be said to be the late heirs of this humanist-liberal tradition. It stands in open opposition to the Protestant orthodoxy, to Luther and Calvin and their still stricter successors, with all their absolutist claims. The humanists had little understanding of such orthodoxy, and out of a moral conviction favored unconditional freedom of thought.

The only personality in Bainton's gallery which approximates the Anabaptist position is, of course, Roger Williams, the new "Baptist." He opposes "easy-going tolerance, since nothing is indifferent that God has enjoined. At the same time, however, no coercion should be employed either to put men out nor to draw them in" (218). Separation of state and church, as promoted in Rhode Island but opposed in Massachusetts, meant certainly emancipation of the church, but at the same time also the complete secularization of the state (224), according to Bainton the rather high price of religious liberty (226).

Mennonites will gratefully study this small volume as background material for a subject thus far never treated in Mennonite literature: the attitude of the Anabaptists toward religious toleration. Though externally the Erasmians and the Anabaptists seemed to agree, internally there existed great differences. The Anabaptist stand for "freedom of conscience" springs from their deep conviction that Christian faith must be genuine, existential, in the heart of men, else it is an illusion; hence compulsion in matters of faith is unthinkable for the Brethren. Out of faith they are for complete voluntarism, while the Erasmians are for the same end out of a certain doubt and doctrinal uncertitude. True, both Anabaptists and Humanists opposed the Protestant orthodoxy, and likewise the union of state and church. But their motives were different. Now that we have such a splendid "trail-blazer" in this field, let Mennonite scholars work on it, too, from the other end.

Bainton's mastership in dramatizing his ideas is unsurpassed, and reading these studies is a real pleasure. A lifelong research is here condensed. It is, therefore, somewhat pathetic to read in the concluding "Reflections," "that much of the previous controversy is irrelevant now (1950) because the whole context has changed" (258). Persecutions for the sake of one's belief have nearly stopped all over the globe, since new political religions have replaced the older issues of church-state relationship. Nevertheless, the Christian concern for a voluntary or gathered church and her proper relation to the secular powers still exists, and it deserves more attention than paid thus far.

Western Michigan College Robert Friedmann

Types of Religious Experience, Christian and Non-Christian. By Joachim Wach. University of Chicago Press, 1951. Pp. 275. $3.50.

Joachim Wach, Professor of the History and Sociology of Religion at the University of Chicago, is a warm friend of the Anabaptist-Mennonite movement, and, in spite of his great interest in the major religions of the world, never has failed to follow up carefully the different personalities and groups within the Protestant Reformation. His recent book, therefore, deserves our special attention, mainly part C: "History of the Christian Religion." Here two essays are particularly worthy of our study: one on Caspar Schwenckfeld, "a pupil and a teacher in the school of Christ" (135-170), and another one on "Church, Denomination and Sect" (187-208). Wach in a personal conversation with the present writer once admitted that he feels rather close to the great Silesian nobleman and Christian seeker Caspar Schwenckfeld whose personal warmth and loving kindness he admires. The study—one of the few studies ever published in English— makes ample use of the thirteen volumes of the gigantic *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum* (actually there are sixteen volumes thus far, and more are still in preparation), and he tries to do justice to Schwenckfeld's spiritualism and pietism. (In footnote 19, Wach lists all passages which anticipate later pietism.) That references to the work of Loserth (on Pilgram Marpeck, the great opponent to Schwenckfeld) and that of the present reviewer (*Mennonite Piety*) are not lacking is not surprising for a scholar like Wach.

The study on "Church, Denomination and Sect" elaborates on a very significant sociological distinction of church history. Ever since the great work of Troeltsch on the *Social Teachings of the Christian Churches,* we have been accustomed to distinguish between church and sect, or rather between institutional and gathered church (brotherhood). Wach now introduces the concept of "denomination" as a new sociological church type between the two earlier mentioned ones, a type particularly familiar to the American scene. "This Denominationalism can be described as a blending of the Congregationalist and Rationalist concepts, the latter illustrated by Locke's famous definition of the Church as a voluntary society of men joining themselves together of their own accord in order to the public worship of God in such a manner as they judge acceptable to Him and effectual to the salvation of their souls. We owe to R. B. Perry an analysis of the philosophical and political implications of this marriage between Puritanism and Democracy" (195). I think this analysis has also its great bearings upon the Mennonite Church which finds herself continually under the temptation to shift from its original type as a brotherhood to a more settled but external type as a denomination, thus losing much of her former flavor and jusification for existence. It is not possible to give in this brief review any details, but a thorough study of this essay can only be recommended to any student of the Mennonite movement. With pleasure we may also report here that Professor Wach discusses at great length a paper of the present reviewer ("Concept of an Anabaptist," *Church History,* 1940), fitting its findings into the context of his sociological analyses.

Needless to say that all the remaining essays of the book have likewise much actual appeal to the alert student of the history of both Christian and non-Christian religions.

Western Michigan College Robert Friedmann

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